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The Week

IN ITS chief international relations Europe last week marked time, waiting for the French elections. The question of sanctions against both Italy and Germany was laid on the table, with the diminishing likelihood that they would ever be applied in an effective manner against either country. As had been predicted, the first French election (to be followed by the final one a week later) showed a marked movement toward the Left. Both Socialists and Communists gained heavily and this gain will be more pronounced in the second election, when they will have common candidates under the agreement of the People's Front. In Spain, the Left also won a sweeping victory, in the vote for electors to choose a new President. The Italians pushed ahead against the Ethiopians, using all the devices of modern warfare against half-naked semi-savages with hardly any armament at all. The terrain through which Italy is moving is, however, one of great difficulty, and final victory is apparently not quite so near as dispatches from Rome would indicate. As England sought to learn Hitler's intentions in regard to colonial questions and the future of Austria, deepening war shadows were reflected in a British budget which shows a sharp increase in income-tax rates—the basic rate is now nearly 24 percent—for the purpose of increasing national defense. In Palestine, tension between Jews and Arabs continued. Hitler announced another of his fake amnesties, which keep all his enemies in jail while setting free almost every Nazi convicted of anything less than murder.

THE new tax bill was introduced in the House last week, for the usual purpose of giving the Senate something to tear apart and make over. Admittedly a bad piece of drafting, it is supposed to raise $800,000,000, though this estimate is a very rough guess. Despite the wails of the Tories, it retains the tax on undivided corporate surplus and the proposal to levy against processing taxes returned to the processors by the Supreme Court. President Roosevelt asked for $460,000,000 to set under way the program of the Social Security Law. In a speech to the D.A.R. he reaffirmed this country's belief in limitation of armament and announced that we shall increase our military strength only if we are forced to. Since we are sure to be forced to, the militarists could take no exception to his remarks. In a second speech in New York he defended his administration along familiar lines and promised to work for larger incomes for farmers and labor, more production, fewer unemployed and lower taxes. A bill was introduced in the Senate authorizing a referendum among the Puerto Ricans, which, if the vote were favorable, would result in freedom. Several hundred thousand American college and high-school students joined in peace demonstrations. In New Jersey, where relief has been cut off and some of the unemployed have been told by officials to go out and beg, a group of the victims has been camping in the State Legislature, hoping thus to call attention to their plight. Colorado has joined California in turning back at her borders those considered likely to become public charges.

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GENERAL Göring, as a Nazi party leader, has been placed in control of German financial policy over the head of Dr. Schacht, formerly the economic dictator. This follows a sharp dispute between Dr. Schacht and the Nazi "radicals" about government spending and foreign trade. Dr. Schacht does not want to devalue the mark in order to give exports a much needed stimulus, but rather to continue subsidizing them out of taxes on industrial profits, and in addition, out of a new tax on agricultural profits—which have benefited greatly at the expense of the industrial population through the policy of autarchy. The Nazis would rather devalue, refrain from taxing the agricultural interests and use the existing taxes more largely for government expenditure at home. It is still uncertain whether Göring's appointment is intended to make Schacht bow to Nazi will, or to conciliate the Nazis in a continuance of Schacht's policy. What is certain is that the sharpness of the quarrel arises from the disastrous economic situation which the Nazis have brought upon Germany by their policy of armament and self-containment. It is certain, too, that there is no good way of escape from this disaster by either route. The anti-Schacht policy would simply make things worse faster.

PUERTO RICO, like the Philippines, was part of the American spoils from the Spanish war. There is no more reason why one country should stay under our flag than the other. While the Roosevelt administration, through Dr. Ernest Gruening, is undoubtedly giving Puerto Rico a better administration than it has had in the past thirty-eight years, a large section of public opinion among the islanders is in favor of independence. Under these circumstances, we see no reason for objecting to the Tydings bill, which would provide for a referendum among the Puerto Ricans eighteen months hence, to be followed, if the vote were favorable, and after a transition period, by complete independence. This should not mean, however, putting Puerto Rico outside the American tariff wall to undergo economic strangulation. We need Puerto Rican goods and the island is an important market for our products, in fact might become an even greater one. There is no sound reason why Puerto Rico should be forced to choose freedom at the cost of bread or vice versa.

SENATOR Wagner's housing bill is far from a thoroughgoing measure to create needed homes for those of low income. Nevertheless, as the best compromise for which there is hope under existing circumstances, it has received the unanimous support of all those really interested in public housing, including labor. It has been endorsed, with a minor exception or two, by Secretary Ickes and other members of the administration. Nevertheless, so powerful are the private real-estate interests and so strong is the pressure against any further enlargement of government spending, however small, that Congress probably will not pass it unless the President himself approves. He has talked a great deal about housing—he even mentioned slum clearance in his Jefferson Day speech in New York. Yet virtually nothing has been done about it. Without passage of the Wagner bill, nothing will be done. If the housing fiasco of the administration continues, President Roosevelt cannot now escape definite personal responsibility. We call upon him to endorse the Wagner bill. Failure to do so will be an admission that on this most important issue his words have been empty.

LAST week's peace demonstration, in which nearly half a million young Americans took part, amply vindicated the similar occasions one and two years ago in the course of which there were many riotous disturbances and numerous students were suspended or expelled. Through these earlier "peace strikes" a good deal of sense was pounded into the heads of college presidents and high-school principals, with the result that in most institutions the authorities this year coöperated with the pacifist-minded students. In some cases, notably Vassar and Mt. Holyoke, the presidents took part; in others, as at Cornell, all classes were canceled at the hour set for the peace demonstration. Only in a few cases, such as Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin, Temple University in Philadelphia and the University of Kansas, was there actual disorder like that of the old days, though Dr. Gabriel R. Mason of the Abraham Lincoln High School in Brooklyn got his five seconds in the limelight by writing to many colleges asking them whether they didn't want a list of the pacifist students in his institution. The change in the general attitude, as heartwarming as it is notable, no doubt comes in part from the present threat of war in Europe and in part because the college presidents now realize that in lining up against student pacifism they are allying themselves with such people as Hearst, Mrs. Dilling and the D.A.R.

A SUITABLE bouquet to Dean Charles E. Clark of the Yale Law School for his notable report, as trial examiner for the National Labor Relations Board, in which he finds the Associated Press guilty of unfair labor practices. The A. P.'s discharge of Morris Watson, according to Dean Clark, was based on the "sole reason" of his activities as a member and official of the American Newspaper Guild. Of course, the A.P. has never denied this charge, for its own records offer ample proof that it regarded Watson as one of its star reporters—until he joined the Guild. The defense of the A.P. rested, rather, on some fine-spun sophistry to the general effect that "freedom of the press" would be jeopardized if the A.P. were forced to comply with the Wagner Act. Indeed, one of the A.P. officials went a step further at the labor board hearings and testified that "the Associated Press has no labor relations." These protestations did not impress Dean Clark, who ruled that freedom of the

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press, far from being hampered, would even be "promoted by the presence of contented employees under labor relations determined by Congress to be generally desirable." It would, he added, "be facilitated by a freedom of organization granted to its highest-skilled, equally with its other, employees." Let us hope that the Supreme Court, which has engaged Dean Clark to draw up its new rules of procedure, will see the issue with equal clarity.

THE state of Vermont continues to act in the interest of the Proctor family, owners of the Vermont Marble Company, against their striking employees. Five of the strikers, including key men in the union, were accused of assaulting a strike-breaker. One was tried in the Rutland municipal court, being prosecuted by State's Attorney Bloomer, a county official. The jury disagreed. Thereupon the Attorney General of the state (who had just announced that the company was under no legal compulsion to arbitrate) invaded the jurisdiction of the local court and prosecutor, placed all five on trial simultaneously in the county court, and savagely conducted the prosecution himself. Mr. Bloomer, charging that this procedure was unconstitutional, moved for dismissal, but the motion was denied. Witnesses for the prosecution, most of them employees of the marble company, gave different identification testimony from that at the first trial, changing their account both of the number of assailants and of their clothing, to avoid discrepancies formerly brought out by the defense. An important defense witness was mysteriously absent from the state and hence did not testify. All five were convicted of breach of the peace and were promptly sentenced to prison for one to two years. The judge adopted the extraordinary procedure of refusing a stay of execution pending appeal. This incident, coupled with several nearly harmless dynamitings charged against the strikers without any evidence whatever, would lead one to infer that someone is making desperate efforts to break the morale of the men. Vermont and the Proctors would appear in a better light before the public if they would adopt the civilized procedure of negotiating a settlement with the union, or at least of arbitrating the differences.

ALL is quiet again on the San Francisco waterfront. The attempt of the shipping interests to break the union and restore the open shop by means of a lockout—by refusing to hire longshoremen through the union hiring halls—ended last week in complete failure. No doubt the shipowners had hoped that the lockout, which paralyzed shipping for a week and threatened to precipitate a crisis as serious as the general strike of 1934, would isolate the militant longshoremen and perhaps create dissension among them. But precisely the opposite happened. Organized labor in the Bay region, sensing the import of the situation, mobilized quickly and solidly behind the longshoremen. Thu[illegible] the shipowners were forced to end the lockout and to renew the arbitration award won in the strike of 1934—the award that gives the waterfront workers control of their jobs by giving their union control of the hiring halls. Meanwhile, the strike of some 3,500 seamen on the East Coast, chiefly in New York, has served to bring into the open not only the miserable working conditions but also the inadequate safety precautions on ships of the American merchant marine. Last week a delegation of the striking seamen visited Secretary of Commerce Roper and, according to press reports, so astonished him with their testimony that he promised an investigation. We wonder, however, whether this investigation will meet the fate of a similar one ordered by the Senate a year ago and never made, and whether Mr. Roper will be similarly astonished a year hence when told that his department has been derelict in enforcing safety-at-sea regulations.

A SHORT time ago Senator Robert La Follette introduced in the Senate a resolution calling on the Committee on Education and Labor to investigate violations of the rights of free speech and assembly and undue interference with the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively. The Committee has made a preliminary investigation of the situation and some of its findings have been reported in the daily press and discussed editorially in our pages. Enough is already known to prove that employers are fighting desperately and with every means at their command to keep workers from organizing and to break up unions that already exist. Large sums of money are being spent to hire spies who often act as *agents provocateurs*. Dummy company unions are set up, whose chief characteristic is that they make no demands on behalf of the men to which the employer can object. Every effort is made to nullify the activities of the National Labor Relations Board, and in one instance Robert B. Watts, counsel for the Board, was actually forced out of the state of Arkansas, where he was attempting to hold a public hearing. There is a brisk underground business in the sale of tear-gas bombs and ammunition to be used against strikers. The facts already uncovered are bad enough; but a hasty preliminary investigation of this sort only peels the apple. There are few more important tasks before the country than to uncover, and put an end to, this sort of industrial autocracy, which exists both in factories and on large-scale farms. We urge our readers to write to Senator David I. Walsh, chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, and to the Senators from their own states, demanding passage of the resolution.

A CALL has been issued for a World Jewish Congress to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, in August of this year, and surely there was never in all history a more appropriate moment for such a meeting. Everyone knows what the "cold pogrom" of

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realizes how serious is anti-Semitism in other countries. In Poland, where there are 3,000,000 Jews, conditions are nearly as bad as they are in Germany. In almost every other country in the world—always excepting Soviet Russia—anti-Semitism exists in greater or less degree. Even in Palestine, the Zionists' homeland, great difficulties are encountered, as the disorders a few days ago between Jews and Arabs testified. At least 100,000 young Jews ought to be removed from Germany, and a campaign is now in progress to raise money for this purpose; but nearly all countries make difficulties, some of them insuperable, about receiving Jewish refugees. The coming congress in Geneva will have several purposes: to review the facts about anti-Jewish discrimination everywhere in the world, to organize resistance to such discrimination and to aid in emigration from countries where removal of the barriers is impossible. The American Jewish Congress has called a meeting in Washington on June 13 and 14 to elect delegates to the Geneva meeting. The signers of the call, Rabbi Stephen Wise and Louis Lipsky, point out that

> it is not possible for such Jewish communities as may be living under more favored conditions to avoid or evade the consequences of denial of Jewish right in any land. The deprival of right, the depression of any Jews to a position of inferiority, the spread of poverty and social disintegration, are matters that affect the conditions and interests of Jews the world over.

THE Interstate Commerce Committee of the United States Senate has voted favorably on the proposal to grant an additional $100,000 to continue the study of railroad financing for which $25,000 was appropriated a few months ago. The proposal must now go to the Committee on Audit and Control, of which Senator Byrnes is chairman, and then to the Senate as a whole. It is in our judgment of great importance that this money should be appropriated. Everyone knows that many financial crimes have been committed in the consolidation, reorganization and bankruptcy proceedings of American railways. It is of great importance for the future that the detailed facts should be uncovered and legislation passed to put an end to bad practices. The railroads are a $27,000,000,000 industry of which roads worth $5,000,000,000 are now in receivership. One hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars to find out what has been going on does not seem an unreasonable expenditure.

AN EDITORIAL in The New Republic for March 25, entitled "Hobo Employers," quoted from a Boston dispatch to The New York Times which said that factories were being persuaded to move from one locality to another and that among the inducements in some cases were "cash bonuses derived from P.W.A. funds." We are advised that such action would be against the policy of the P.W.A. and that no offers of this sort have ever been taken place.

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Mr. Roosevelt Opens the Campaign

MR. ROOSEVELT, speaking in New York at the Jefferson Day dinner, fired the first shot in the battle to win this crucial state for the Democrats, and also incidentally to strengthen his support throughout the country.

The generalities at the beginning of his speech are unexceptionable. A disaster in Georgia or in one of the Dakotas is also a disaster to New York. Slum clearance in New York is of interest to the agricultural sections. The national power must be called upon, not merely to relieve distress when it has occurred, but to prevent it. What happened in 1929 was the result of "a decade of debauch, of group selfishness . . . every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." The garment workers in New York suffered from the farm depression beginning in 1921, because farmers could not buy so many clothes. The farmers suffered in turn because the garment workers could not buy enough food and cotton. If everybody in New York could afford a healthy and decent diet, it would take 3,000,000 more acres to feed the city than it now does.

Why anybody should deny such truisms it is difficult to see. Yet apparently the dominant business interests in the United States do not believe them. For one of their chief organs, The New York Herald Tribune, headlined its account of the speech with "Roosevelt Tells Industry 'Breathing Spell' Is Over." It is a fact, strange as it may seem, that reactionaries do not really want the purchasing power of farmers and wage-earners increased. They insist, moreover, on the disuniting of the states, and strive to emphasize an opposition of interests between country and city. Above all, they want the national power used very little to relieve distress and not at all to prevent it. They do not see, apparently, that man collectively can do anything, through concerted action, to minimize erosion, floods and droughts, or even that he must expect such man-made disasters as unemployment unless he takes calculated action to avoid them.

With such a point of view there is no possibility of reasonable argument. It is not a reasoned position, but a deep and irrational prejudice. If one simply had to choose between the basic assumptions of the Republicans and those of the President, there would be only one possibility for the intelligent citizen. There is, however, a wide field for discussion as to how the President's faith can be realized. Granted that we must get together as a nation to do something about the ills that recurrently plague all of us, what shall we do? Here enters the rest of Mr. Roosevelt's speech.

He believes the success of his program to raise farmers' and wage-earners' incomes has already been attested by the amount of recovery that has taken place. When people complain about the cost,

as shown in the budget deficit of $3,000,000,000, he points to the estimate that the national income has risen from $35,000,000,000 in 1932 to $65,000,000,000 in 1936. No one can deny that we are better off than in 1932, but there is room for disagreement as to whether all the administration's measures have helped that recovery. And there is a certainty that we are still far from the goal that was set up, and are not now making very rapid progress toward it. Little opportunity for gloating exists when there are 12,000,000 unemployed and 25,000,000 on relief; when the growth of the farmers' real income has stopped; when the chief gain has been an artificial and speculative one in stock prices; when profits rise by leaps and bounds while the real wages of industrial workers have not advanced for over a year; when no revival of building construction is in sight and no program to provide decent housing for the two-thirds of the urban population who lack it has been adopted.

No one can justly expect the President to outline a detailed formula in a brief speech, but the President does give us a pretty definite hint of what he has in mind. He does it by way of answer to a Republican brain-truster who contends that the way out is to lower prices by cheapening the cost of production. There are, Mr. Roosevelt says, only two methods of doing that. One is to increase the efficiency of production, and the other is to lower wages and increase hours. But the first way, he argues, means fewer men doing the work and hence more unemployment, while the second way means cutting down the purchasing power of the employed workers. On this account he rejects the suggestion of lower prices, and argues rather for a rising price level. "If you increase buying power, prices will go up but more goods will be bought. Wages ought to and must go up with prices." This does not mean "unsound inflation"—at some point a "reasonably stable" price level will be sought.

One of Mr. Roosevelt's own brain-trusters ought to suggest to him that his analysis is just as fallacious as that of the economist he attacks. It is true that you cannot increase the purchasing power of the workers if their money incomes go down as fast as the prices they pay. But it is equally true that you cannot increase their purchasing power if the prices they pay go up as fast as their money incomes. Is it not obvious that the only solution is to widen the spread between prices and incomes? Must they not take different courses? Prices may go down without any reduction of wages. Or wages may go up without increase of prices. How? By means of that very increase in efficiency mentioned earlier, plus a larger volume of production and consumption.

More goods produced per labor-hour mean less cost of production per labor-hour. Less cost means the possibility of more wages without increase of prices. More wages without increase of prices mean more purchasing power. More purchasing power means more goods sold and produced. More goods produced mean that employment can be increased in spite of the fact that efficiency also gains.

It is the chief fault of our existing industrial economy that it does not consistently and steadily follow this course. What ordinarily upsets the apple cart is that when efficiency grows and costs are cut, the lion's share of gain goes into profits rather than into popular purchasing power. Therefore we get restricted output and unemployment, rather than abundant consumption. That was the chief fault of the N.R.A. That is just what is happening now.

Likewise the farmers' prices and incomes cannot be further increased, as Secretary Wallace can tell (and has told) the President, by means either of output restriction or of monetary manipulation. What the farmers need now is lower prices for the things they buy. And they can get them, without injury to industrial labor, only if industry follows the policy of reducing prices and increasing output, without cutting labor's income.

These conclusions may be somewhat complex and difficult to grasp, but they are certainly not beyond the comprehension either of the President or of leading employers. Failure to accept and act upon them results, not from their theoretical difficulty but from the obstacles to be met in putting them into practice. Private industry will not and cannot give up the habits of an economy of scarcity. It will not surrender control of wages and prices to collective planning. The administration will not attempt to force it to do so. It is much easier to talk generalities and much pleasanter to assume that a blanket remedy like higher prices will do. In spite of his recent bitter experiences, the President still tries to please everybody at once. He still wants the best of two different worlds.

That Famous Free Press

THE American Newspaper Publishers' Association, at its convention last week in New York City, devoted its chief attention to the question of freedom of the press. In previous years, it has been the custom to have the convention addressed by some outstanding government official, on many occasions the President himself. Apparently because the publishers are now so bitterly hostile to the Roosevelt administration, this practice was abandoned and all the speakers were men connected, in one way or another, with the newspaper business. With very few exceptions, their theme was the same: the newspapers are pure and noble, but the government is bad and is seeking to muzzle the press as it has been muzzled abroad. This tendency must be vigorously resisted.

Not one but four resolutions were introduced dealing with this subject. One of them attacked the Minnesota state authorities in relation to the Liggett case. Another pointed with pride to the voiding of the Louisiana law sponsored by the late Huey Long, which levied taxes against newspapers of large circulation. Another referred to the vic-

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tory of The Philadelphia Record in its recent criminal-libel case. The fourth attacked the Black Committee of the United States Senate for its seizure of telegrams and, by implication, praised William Randolph Hearst for his fight in the courts against the committee. To be sure, not every speaker took the line indicated above. Sir Wilmott Lewis, American correspondent of The London Times, no doubt startled the editors by courageously attacking the perils implicit in newspaper chains. Both Walter Lippmann and Lee White criticized gutter journalism. A. H. Sulzberger of The New York Times emphasized the responsibility of journalism to present news fully and fairly. These speeches, however, were in opposition to the prevailing current, already reported.

It is certainly a good thing when newspaper publishers become sensitive to the perils involved in curtailment of freedom of speech. Publishers' attitudes are not wholly determined by their economic interests. Prevailing public opinion does affect their conduct to some extent. Great Britain and the United States are both capitalist countries, yet they are miles apart in their practices as to freedom of the press and civil rights of the individual.

At the same time, we are forced to confess that the proceedings of the publishers last week, taken as a whole, left us with more than a little feeling of nausea. We do not believe there is any serious threat whatever to the freedom of the press from activities of the federal government at the present time. We do believe that the actions of the publishers themselves, now as in the past, constitute an extremely serious diminution of the freedom of their papers. While some of them are no doubt sincere in the opinion that Mr. Roosevelt is on the eve of muzzling the press, we believe a far more important factor in their attitude is the bitter hatred of the publishers for the President, his administration and its general philosophy. It is no accident, in our opinion, that the men and papers loudest in their hysterical wails about the infringement of liberty are the same men and papers who are fighting the administration on every other ground, the warmest friends of the public utilities, the bitterest enemies of collective bargaining for labor, the strongest advocates of suppression of "radicalism," the most truculent in demanding that the unemployed be kept at or below the bare subsistence level.

It will be remembered that the question of freedom of the press in relation to the Roosevelt administration was raised once before, in connection with the proposed N.R.A. code. The publishers fought desperately against having any code at all, on the ground that their freedom was in jeopardy. We see no reason to alter our opinion, expressed at that time, that what the publishers were really concerned about was the code's prohibition of child labor and starvation wages, and the insistence of Section 7a on collective bargaining. In the same way, we believe that in much of their present opposition to the Roosevelt administration the publishers are acting, not as journalists but as wealthy business men. Such persons are opposed to the New Deal, not so much because of what it has done but because of what they fear it may do. These fears are in our judgment almost entirely without foundation. Thus far, capital has benefited much more under the New Deal than has labor and there is every sign that this will continue to be true. It remains one of the great mysteries of this generation why the entrenched forces of wealth hate Mr. Roosevelt so bitterly when he has done so little to interfere with their activities.

Mr. Sulzberger might well have amplified his argument that the privileges claimed by the press carry with them special responsibilities and obligations. While there are many papers that set for themselves, and live up to, high standards of conduct, there are many more that seem willing to stoop to almost anything in their attempt to make money. Gutter journalism was never more highly perfected, or more completely cynical and debauched, than it is in this country today. Hearst, who now complains because a committee of the United States Senate, on a legitimate search for important information, has "invaded his privacy," has been invading other people's privacy, often with shameless misrepresentation of the facts, for a generation. Collectively, the publishers talk nobly about the ideals of their profession; but they never expel anybody for degrading those ideals.

Speakers at the A.N.P.A. convention commented, with apparent agreement from those present, on the declining prestige of the editorial page. It is a lesson that the publishers might well take to heart. While the press of the country is heavily against the Roosevelt administration, signs are multiplying daily that the people are heavily in its favor. If the press is decreasingly able to mold opinion, one important reason for this is certainly that the publishers have managed to give the people the impression that they seek to magnify comparatively unimportant private grievances into tremendously important public wrongs.

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Consumers' Coöperation Today

COMPARED with the consumers' coöperative movement in European countries, the movement in the United States has always been weak. It is still weak, but it is growing stronger every day. It is strong enough, at any rate, to receive notice from Business Week, Printers' Ink, Tide, Retailing and Roger Babson. The sage of Babson Park recently warned his subscribers that "merchants who laugh off these consumers' crusades are sitting on dynamite."

The Coöperative League of the United States, which is the educational agency of consumers' cooperative societies, estimated in September, 1935, that there are in the United States about 6,600 coöperative societies with approximately 1,800,000 members, doing an anual business of around $365,000,000, or about one percent of the country's retail trade. Membership has grown about 40 percent during the depression, and a period of rising prices with stationary wage levels, such as the present, will stimulate their growth further. There are today about 500 coöperative retail stores. The grocery stores among them seem to be able to meet chain-store price competition, for their overhead expense is as low as 10.2 percent. When wholesaling costs are bulked with retailing expense, as in the statistics for chain stores, the average for the coöperatives runs two to three percent below the chains' 20.9 percent. As they establish wholesales they will be able to buy more cheaply and to increase their dividends to members. There are about thirty important coöperative wholesales in the country today, doing a business of around $70,000,000 a year, and the wholesales are beginning to set up manufacturing plants.

The logical outcome of the process is the elimination of middlemen in the progress of goods from producer to consumer. Local associations join together to form a wholesale, and if conditions warrant, the wholesale will engage in manufacturing. The English Coöperative Wholesale Society, owned and controlled by local societies, is the largest business organization in England; it is importer, manufacturer, financier and wholesaler. The process results in low prices to the consumer; for example, the British coöperatives can sell bread for three and a half cents per pound loaf, while the same bread in the United States would retail for from eight to twelve cents. Many of the purely competitive costs of private business, such as the leasing of good locations to prevent the establishment of rival stores, are eliminated. The process may result in high quality as well, for there is no motive anywhere in the scheme for debasing quality, and it is easy to test samples of goods bought to see that a whole laboratory if the research and advice of Coöpera-

Nearly a hundred years ago the first successful coöperative store was opened in Toad Lane, Rochdale, England. The principles upon which the twenty-eight poor weavers established that store have withstood wars, depressions and business opposition. Briefly these principles are: each member of the society subscribes to one or more shares of stock, usually at $5 each, which may be paid for from dividends or in instalments; but each member has only one vote in the society, irrespective of the number of his shares. Shares earn only the prevailing rate of interest, and profits from the enterprise are returned to members in proportion to purchases. Goods are sold for cash and, to avoid price wars with private business, are sold at prevailing market prices. The Rochdale principles have been applied, with varying degrees of success, to many other enterprises besides retail stores.

A promising business is Coöperative Distributors, a mail-order coöperative, organized in New York City in 1933. It tests various consumers' goods and publishes in its monthly magazine, Consumers' Defender, advice upon some consumers' problems. It sells goods both in its New York store and by mail, and for all goods it sells, it maintains its own laboratory control over quality and it insists upon fair wages and labor conditions. Its sales policy differs from the Rochdale plan in that it has two sets of prices, one for members and another for non-members.

Noting the slowness with which coöperative stores have been established in this country, Coöperative Distributors promotes consumers' clubs, organized upon Rochdale principles, which not only make wholesale purchases through Coöperative Distributors, but may also deal on a collective-bargaining basis with local merchants. Services, such as laundry and dry cleaning, are thus obtained at lower rates, as well as bulk commodities such as gasoline, milk and coal. Some of the sixty clubs have made substantial savings for members. They are informal, easily organized, not incorporated. They may be set up by any group—housewives, farmers, wage-earners or professional or salaried workers. With eight exceptions, the clubs so far organized are in the Northeastern states. Several have taken the second step in their evolution and organized coöperative stores or filling stations. The theory of Coöperative Distributors seems sound, and if the organization is well managed, there is no reason why it should not become an important part of the coöperative movement. Each coöperative wholesale will not need to have its own testing

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Credit unions in the United States seem to be growing faster than any other part of our consumers' movement. New ones are being organized at the rate of 150 a month, and membership increases about 28,000 a month. There were, at the end of last December, 4,350 credit unions, with around a million members, and they extended about a hundred million dollars' worth of credit to members last year.

The credit union is a coöperative organization for providing its members both with a satisfactory means of saving money and ready short-term credit for constructive purposes at rates of interest lower than workers could obtain elsewhere. The members of the union subscribe for shares, usually at $5 each, and dividends on these shares average about six percent. Although the unions are organized and managed entirely by their members, they are supervised by state banking departments if they are chartered under any one of the forty-one state credit-union laws; or, if they are chartered under the Federal Credit Union Act of 1934, they are supervised by the Farm Credit Administration. There are thirty-six state leagues of credit unions, and these in turn maintain the Credit Union National Association, of which Edward A. Filene is president.

Credit unions offer to people of small means, who cannot obtain bank credit, coöperative protection against the loan sharks. Loans of $50 or less are made on the character of the borrower, as known to his fellow members; for larger loans, a co-signer or other security is required. Loans are made to pay the expenses of illness, to consolidate outstanding debts, to buy furniture or for any other purpose that seems to the directors of the union to be justifiable. Losses are very small; of 506 federal credit unions reporting October 31, 1935, losses of only $56 had been sustained out of half a million dollars of credit extended. The interest rate on loans is usually one percent per month—about half that charged by the loan sharks.

There is a chain of eleven coöperative cafeterias in New York City which has been operated successfully for fifteen years by Consumers' Coöperative Services. The chain has added two new units during the depression, while paying its employees 30 percent more than the N.R.A. minimum wages.

Coöperative housing ventures have been virtually at a standstill during the depression. One of the most notable recent enterprises of this kind is Carl Mackley Houses, opened in Philadelphia in January, 1935, by the American Federation of Hosiery Workers. These houses were built with money advanced by the P.W.A. Most of the other coöperative apartments in the country are in New York City. Twenty-one of the New York coöperative apartments recently furnished data to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. The oldest of the coöperatives was established in 1916; the average age is now eleven and a half years. The original value ent value as $2,629,663. In these apartment houses, the median three-room apartment rents for from $32 to $35, the four-room apartment for from $40 to $45. A member of a housing coöperative normally does not buy his apartment, but buys stock equal to the value of his apartment, stock which may be paid for on a monthly basis like rent. Each member, of course, has to pay his proportionate share of maintenance costs. Coöperative housing is sound in principle, but the barriers in the way of its expansion are the personal insecurity of workers, their mobility, the large amounts of money necessary for building, and fluctuating real-estate values.

The first coöperative hospital in the United States was organized in 1929 in Elk City, Oklahoma, under the guidance of Dr. Michael Shadid. This coöperative has today 1,800 member families. Shares in the hospital, which may be purchased on the instalment plan, cost $50. Twenty-five dollars a year entitles a member family to complete medical and dental attention, except for the charge of a dollar a day for the use of a hospital room. All reports indicate that this coöperative is succeeding.

Throughout the country farmers' coöperative purchasing associations have grown rapidly in recent years. In 1929 farmers purchased coöperatively farm supplies worth $125,000,000; this business had doubled by 1934. There are now 1,600 associations with half a million members. The largest single association in the United States is the Coöperative Grange League Federation Exchange, which was organized in 1920 to combine the purchasing efforts of the New York State Grange, the New York State Farm Bureau Federation and the Dairymen's League. This great association has 100,000 members, 135 stores, 500 agents and property worth $4,195,032. For the year ending June 30, 1935, it sold farm supplies valued at $24,000,000.

Chiefly in the Middle and Far West coöperative purchasing of petroleum products has come to be of great importance. No complete record of business is available, but 644 associations reporting to the Farm Credit Administration did a retail business of $31,900,000 in 1934. About 30 percent of the gasoline and oil sold in Minnesota is sold through coöperatives. There are ten coöperative oil wholesales in the United States which supply local associations, and there are four coöperative oil-compounding plants. The plant in North Kansas City, Missouri, has made three shipments of oil to coöperatives in Europe.

About half of the coöperative marketing associations do some purchasing for their members, but the strictly marketing associations are not consumer-minded. They want to obtain from the urban consumer the highest possible prices for their oranges, eggs, milk or other products. They want low real-estate taxes and high tariffs. They oppose legislation to limit the use of poisonous sprays on fruits and vegetables. They tend toward the monopolistic

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A famous Japanese Christian, Toyohiko Kagawa, who has led the coöperative movement in Japan, is this year bringing the coöperative gospel into our coöperative wilderness. The Federal Council of Churches held a "seminar" on coöperation in Indianapolis last December at which some 350 ministers and church officials heard Kagawa. Arthur E. Holt of the Chicago Theological Seminary presided over the sessions. There was such talk as: coöperation is "the love principle of economic action"; it will permit "recapturing the spirit of the early church"; and "the church must furnish the dynamic." There is probably little harm in this, unless a movement, which has succeeded abroad because of its economic simplicity, gets drowned in mysticism.

Neither the religious fervor in the movement nor the interest of religious leaders in it should blind its friends to its problems and limitations. There must be other reasons than want of missionary work to explain why our coöperatives do only one percent of our retail business while British and Scandinavian coöperatives do from 15 to 40 percent of theirs.

One reason has already been touched upon: the immediate conflict of interest between man as producer and man as consumer. Even coöperative producers want to obtain the maximum prices for their products, and consumers, even coöperative consumers, want to pay the minimum prices. It may be possible to resolve this conflict by means of some compromise, but probably the consumers will not be able to achieve success short of owning the means of production. Such, at any rate, has been foreign experience. The British Coöperative Wholesale Society has its own tea plantation in Ceylon, its own cattle ranches in Canada, its own coal mines. It has its own factories to make soap, radios, clothing and many of the other things it sells. The process of acquiring the capital to buy or build these factories is very slow; coöperation cannot save the nation in thirty days. And, when the factories are acquired, in those lines of manufacturing where labor is the largest item in costs, if the coöperative pays good wages it may be undersold by a private manufacturer who does not. Cooperative retail stores will often have to buy from their wholesales for reasons of loyalty rather than for reasons of price and quality.

No large organization, whether labor union, professional association or coöperative, can avoid contact with government. Problems of taxation, incorporation, business regulation are sure to arise. The organization is compelled to become a pressure group, and some American coöperatives, notably the marketing associations, have been very effective at bringing pressure upon Congress and upon the state legislatures. In theory, a coöperative should keep entirely out of politics, but in practice, it may have to use political means to protect itself against discriminatory legislation, even to survive. In England the coöperatives have lined up against Sir Oswald Mosley because of his threat to curb them if he and his fascists come into power; the British coöperatives think that he might stamp them out as the Nazis have in Germany. However necessary political activity may be, it produces additional strains in an organization.

More pressing, probably, is the relation of the coöperatives to organized labor. Will labor unions be encouraged to establish retail stores? Will employees of coöperatives be permitted to unionize? These questions have yet to be answered. The employees of British coöperatives are 96-percent organized. Organized labor in this country has always been more interested in obtaining higher wages than in making existing wages buy more. The high mobility of American labor has been another obstacle in the way of coöperative action. British and Scandinavian workers live and die, generation after generation, in the towns where they were born, and membership in a coöperative comes naturally. Cooperative stores have succeeded best in the United States where Finnish and Scandinavian immigrants, who brought the coöperative idea with them, have settled in large groups.

A degree of economic stratification appears to be necessary for the ideal growth of coöperatives. With some exceptions, of course, the scheme appeals most to persons in the lower-income groups. American workers have always had a little-capitalist point of view, hoping someday to make a killing and to be big capitalists. When and if it becomes clear to American workers that the days of Ford, Edison and Westinghouse are gone forever, then there will be a more secure future for coöperatives.

Americans have always liked service. They like to have their groceries delivered, and they like to run charge accounts. Neither of these services is compatible with good coöperative merchandising. The success of the chain stores and the supermarkets, however, would indicate that Americans can be educated to a cash-and-carry system. Perhaps the chains have done some of the coöperatives' groundwork for them. But no one has as yet broken the desire of the American people for new styles and new models. Coöperatives do not succeed very well in gambling on the style market, so that for the near future, at any rate, a considerable area of the retail market will be closed to them. The best field for coöperatives is in the retailing of staple goods, such as oil, gasoline, coal and groceries.

Not only is a considerable area of the retail market closed to coöperatives, but almost all of the capital-goods market is closed as well. It is conceivable, but highly unlikely, that coöperatives might go into the building and selling of dynamos, locomotives or roadbuilding machinery. Their future seems to be almost entirely in the manufacturing and selling of consumers' goods.

Problems of management have undoubtedly contributed to the slow growth of our coöperative movement. American coöperatives have never h

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willing or able to pay their best men sufficient salaries to keep them from going to work for private concerns. British coöperatives have developed a professional spirit among their employees, so that they have not had this problem; and opportunities for private employment have not been so good in England as they have been at times in the United States. But the problem of management may be on the way to a solution over here, because opportunities for private employment are far from good, and they do not look promising for the immediate future; at the same time our coöperatives are undertaking to train their own men, and they have come to understand better that they must pay good salaries to keep men when they are trained. Beyond doubt they have some very able men working for them today.

In spite of all its problems and limitations, the prospects for consumers' coöperation seem better today than they have ever been. The movement, says Babson, "has enough votes, enough money, and enough economic soundness to split things wide open." And the only advice he could give his subscribers to avert the explosion was to put more "character" into their advertising.

DAYTON D. MCKEAN.

The Last International

I saw them, yes, I saw their unbreathing armies
Marching against the Capitol in ranks
That filled the boulevard from curb to curb;
They were a river high between its banks

In the March gales. I saw their featureless faces
Wax-pallid, saw their tight-clenched bony fists,
Saw their right forearms skyward raised, and saw
Among them stumps of arms, hacked off at the wrists.

And some I saw that walked in a frozen circle
Of flame, and some had snapped-off bayonets
In their ribs, and some a wound between their shoulders
From which the blood congealed in two black jets;

And some there were and some I saw that carried
In their left hands each his own dissevered head,
And others with a hangman's noose down-dangling
From twisted neck, and all their host was dead—

For comrades, dead, for having loved tomorrow,
Betrayed and bastinadoed, burned at the stake,
Slow-starved in prison or exile, buried alive,
Beaten insensible, roused at the day's break,

Then hurried through the snow to execution,
Shot down in Florisdorf, in Chapei Road,
And now reprieved from prison graveyards, piled
So high with sorrows that they overflowed,

Yes, poured their victims out, a long parade
Of spectres high upborne on rivers of air
And silence. Not a banner flapped in the wind.
There was only the dry whisper everywhere

Of feet like dead leaves over asphalt scudding
Under a cold sky heavy as a vault
And the slit eyes of iron-shuttered windows;
And suddenly were voices crying, Halt!

I heard them, human voices that were more
Unhuman than the silence of the dead;
In terror, in a dream, I turned and saw them
Identical brown frozen bodies, heard
The click of rifle bolts behind barbed wire,
And turning back I pleaded,
"Comrades, not
Weaponless, not to crumple under fire,

"Comrades, no farther—"
Would they hear me ever?
"Comrades—"
They still moved on to the attack,
Until the enemy ordnance volleyed out
Against them, an enormous thundercrack.

The rivet-hammering of Lewis guns.
The spit and crackle of Springfields in the ranks.
Gases that spread in miasmatic fogs.
Planes zooming low. The grumble of the tanks.

And still and still the mutineers marched on
With mummified limbs that bullets could not tear,
Nor gases poison them, who did not breathe,
Nor tanks crush out their bodies that were air.

I saw them sweeping forward, saw the soldiers
That cast their rifles down and blindly fled;
Barons I saw and bankers and archbishops
Driven before the whirlwind of the dead;

Stone walls that crumbled, barracks and asylums
Fast emptied, penitentiaries ablaze;
A half-unconscious sigh of liberation
Rose from mean streets and moonless areaways,

From factory gates and convict camps and cabins
Unpainted, windowless, deep in the Cotton Belt—
Tensed muscles loosening, a first free breath
A hundred million times repeated, felt

Then slowly heard, tornado of the mind
Driving the mist and terror from the head.
The vault of cloud was split by a sharp wind.
The sky was suddenly blue and the sun shone red.

MALCOLM COWLEY.

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Bank Night

BANK NIGHT, like many other economic panaceas, stems directly from the depression. There is perhaps no better barometer of the public's financial status than its attendance at movie theatres, an attendance now estimated at between 80,000,000 and 85,000,000 weekly at an average admission price of 23 cents. This business is normally split between the large chain operators and the independently owned theatres. It was when the former tried to corral the bulk of this business that drastic measures became necessary to keep the independent exhibitors in business.

On January 29 of this year in St. Louis, Missouri, the government, for lack of evidence, withdrew its charges of conspiracy against three major movie companies. That trial was an attempt on the part of the government to prove that Warner Brothers, Paramount and RKO had conspired to eliminate the independent exhibitor entirely by the simple expedient of refusing to supply him with pictures. Since most of the major companies have subsidiaries which operate movie houses with first-run pictures, the government alleged that these major companies had conspired to exchange their product among themselves, thereby ensuring for their own theatres the first run of pictures in their respective communities. It was a material blow to the independent exhibitor when the government failed to sustain its charges, for whether or not the conspiracy allegation was true, the fact remains that the independent exhibitor must still play all pictures from four to ten weeks later than their initial showing in first-run theatres.

Until four years ago the major companies, feeling financially secure in their monopoly of first-run pictures, looked upon the independent exhibitor with quiet disdain. The difference in admission price between these two types of operators averaged 20 cents a ticket. In pre-depression days the public was willing to pay that much more to see its favorite movie star as soon as his picture was released. But when the movie-goer began to budget his entertainment expenses, the chain, or first-run, operators found that their box-office receipts were dwindling. It was then that they took the first step toward shutting out competition. They reduced their admissions in the majority of cases to within five cents of the scale charged by the independent. Their business immediately revived. While gross receipts were not so large as formerly, their theatres were playing to more people and creating good will for the future—and at the same time strangling the small exhibitor.

The small exhibitor's position was now precarious. He was already running double features, and an additional picture was out of the question. There was not enough available product. His need for an attendance-stimulator was obvious and immediate. The first restorative used was "give-away" or "premium" night. A piece of chinaware was given free to every woman attending the theatre on a designated night each week. If she went regularly and consecutively she could in time amass a full set of dishes. At once the feminine patronage increased from 20 to 25 percent on these nights. The women window-shopped the various theatres and finally gave their steady patronage to the theatre having the pattern they liked best. The picture was a secondary consideration. It was no uncommon thing for theatres to advertise "Tonight Is Dish Night—Also a Feature." And there was the Philadelphia exhibitor who walked into the film exchange one day and laid a platter on the booking manager's desk. "Look," he said, "have you got a feature that will go with this?" The efficacy of this advertising device can be measured by the fact that one New York distributor of chinaware supplied the theatres in his territory with from three to five carloads of dishes daily.

The major circuits did not adopt this premium policy. They felt that such competition in gifts would soon kill its own effectiveness. And they were right. In a few months dishes were no longer enough to pull the public to the movies. The independent theatre-owners then tried other lures, the most popular of which was giving money to the holder of a lucky number. This practice was soon prohibited as a violation of the lottery law.

Then Mr. Charles U. Yeager, a manager for the Fox West Coast Theatre Circuit, conceived the idea of Bank Night. He organized Affiliated Enterprises, Inc., copyrighted the name Bank Night and its form of operation, and tried it out in a small town in the Rocky Mountains. Its success was immediate and unprecedented; it swept the West more quickly than the Townsend Plan.

Here is how Bank Night works. The exhibitor contracts with Affiliated Enterprises to furnish him with a reel of film, known as a trailer, which advertises and announces the introduction of Bank Night, together with a register for signatures, record books and a set of numbers, or foils, which are used in the drawing of the lucky number. The register is set up in the lobby of the theatre and anyone may sign it without being obliged to buy a ticket. The participants need only sign once to be permanently listed for all future drawings (the duplication of signatures has been eliminated by an elaborate system of cross-indexes). The number opposite the signature is dropped into a drum and on the night chosen for the drawing someone (preferably a little girl) is selected fro[illegible]

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ence to draw a number from the drum. The rules require that the holder of this lucky number must claim the prize within five, ten or fifteen minutes from the time the number is called (the time limit being at the discretion of the theatre manager). It is not necessary for the winner to be in the auditorium. He may be in the lobby, on the sidewalk, or at home. So long as he can get inside the theatre within the alloted time he may claim the prize. Those outside the theatre are informed of the result by a loud speaker, or by the name being posted in the box office. If the winner does not appear to claim his prize, the money is added to the next week's award. In many cases several weeks have elapsed before a winner has appeared.

The prizes range from $25 to $1,000, depending upon the size of the theatre and the degree of local competition. This money is held in escrow by the theatre's bank. After the theatre manager and the judges of the award have verified the winner's signature, and he has been further identified by someone in the audience, he is all ready to receive his reward, which he gets at the bank the following morning. Since it is unnecessary for the winner to purchase a ticket in order to claim the award, and since Mr. Yeager does not permit Bank Night to be advertised in the newspapers, he has been able to circumvent the lottery law in most states.

Bank Night has been operating for eighteen months and is now used in 4,300 theatres, each of which pays a royalty to Affiliated Enterprises, Inc. These royalties are determined by the size, location and admission scale of the theatre. They range from $15 to $75 a night per theatre. Affiliated's weekly income has been estimated at from $100,000 to $125,000. Deducting 50 percent for overhead and operation charges, this leaves Mr. Yeager and his associates, Claude Ezell, the national organizer, and Rick Ricketson, the original backer, a sizable piece of change. But there are penalties for its popularity. Hundreds of variations and infringements have been attempted, and Mr. Yeager is kept busy prosecuting them. Exhibitors create their own versions, using such names as Prosperity Night, Movie Sweepstakes, Treasury Night, Cash Award Night, Buck Nite, Parlay Cash Night and many others. But call it what you will, Bank Night and its imitators have caused more theatres to open during the depression than any other device. There are cases on record showing that circuits operating as many as sixty theatres have been saved from bankruptcy by this system. The fact that it has made converts of a great many former non-moviegoers can be checked by small-town exhibitors, who know the majority of their audience by sight. Box-office receipts increase on Bank Night from 100 to 400 percent over normal grosses. In some communities civic and social clubs have changed the dates of their meetings to avoid conflicting with Bank Night.

With this evidence of the independent theatre lost their former indifference. The new slogan was now: "Live and let live . . . but not for long." They found it expedient and necessary to adopt the double-feature policy as well as some of the business-pulling machinations first put into use by the small competitor, so much so that current estimates show that more than 60 percent of the 15,300 movie houses in the country are now using some form of give-away night. The percentages run higher in various communities. In New York City, for instance, more than 90 percent of the movie theatres give prizes. In one section of Detroit, in which ninety theatres are located, all were found to be operating on the "Give-away night" system, some using the process as many as two, three and four times a week.

Petty racketeers have not been slow to take advantage of these easy pickings, especially where the accumulated award has run into a considerable sum of money. Their *modus operandi* is simple. One of the conspirators signs the register, and notes the number written opposite his name. A foil containing that number is then counterfeited. On the night of the drawing he appears at the theatre with his confederates, who are usually a woman and a girl of ten or twelve. This child quickly steps to the platform when the call for volunteers is made by the manager. Having already palmed the counterfeit foil, she dips her hand into the drum and draws forth the spurious number. Then the racketeer goes through the regular form of signature comparison. Identification is made by his woman companion and he claims the award.

There have been some repercussions from whispering campaigns started by people whose non-attendance on Bank Night prevented their claiming the award. In Kansas City a suit has been filed by a patron who alleges she had won the money but had not received it because of her absence from the theatre. To combat ill feeling of this kind, a manager in El Paso, Texas, has announced that he will issue insurance policies on cash awards to protect late arrivals on Bank Night. He will make a charge of ten cents per $100 up to $500, paying the claim within thirty days. However, this scheme is not considered a feasible one by insurance men, since the odds against a designated person's winning the prize are too great.

How long can the appeal of Bank Night or some similar device last? Just so long as the public feels the scheme is honestly run and until the exhibitor finds more participants on the sidewalk than in the theatre. In spite of the huge increases to box-office receipts of these give-away nights, exhibitors are not too sanguine about their benefit to the business, since they have created a precedent that will become increasingly difficult to maintain. The independent exhibitor's salvation lies in one or all of the following propositions: (1) economic conditions throughout the country improving sufficiently so that major chains can revert to their former admission prices; (2) outlawing the double-feature policy in the first-

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run houses, thereby releasing a larger available supply of pictures for the independent; (3) eliminating give-away nights in the major circuits; (4) an increasingly better, and hence more salable, output of films.

H. O. KUSELL.

The Midwestern Messiah

THEY TELL me that the recent congressional investigation of the Old Age Revolving Pension Plan has done Dr. Townsend's organization a good deal of harm. While the scandal unearthed was obviously much smaller than the investigators had hoped, the country learned that the heads of the movement, and particularly Mr. Clements, were not living in quite the monastic simplicity that had been reported. Some very large amounts had passed through the hands of people whose keeping of accounts was none too good. Of the three persons whose names were well known in connection with the O.A.R.P., two are now gone. It remains to be seen whether the millions of devoted followers of Dr. Townsend in his crusade will continue unshaken in their allegiance.

I received the news of these disclosures with what old-fashioned writers used to call "mixed emotions." The Townsend Plan in its full detail and original form is and always has been an economic impossibility. The good Doctor apparently both overestimated by 300 percent the total annual volume of business in the United States and confused it with the annual increment of wealth. His transactions tax would have been only about two percent, but the goods and services he proposed to call into being would have necessitated a 40-percent increase in the national income as it was at the bottom of the depression or a 20-percent increase in that income in our best previous year. I am ready to go along with anyone in a proposal to substitute an economy of abundance for an economy of scarcity; but this will have to be done by people who know them apart, realize the extreme seriousness of the proposal to substitute one for the other and are prepared to take the risks and suffer the losses that must be incurred, not merely in bringing about such a change but even in seeking to obtain serious preliminary discussion of it.

And still, Dr. Townsend has on the whole probably performed a useful service, as did Howard Scott with his first great Technocracy bubble. Both these men have called public attention most vividly to the fact that the country potentially and to a large degree actually the richest on earth gives 80 percent of its people an income not much above the starvation level; that we have thus far signally failed to provide security for more than an insignificant minority; that, in short, we are living in the midst of a self-imposed and needless poverty. It is no small achievement to have opened the eyes of even a few million Americans to these facts. If the Townsend Plan were to die tomorrow and be as completely forgotten as miniature golf, Mah Jong or Flinch, it would still have left some sedimented flood marks on the national consciousness.

The Townsend Plan is not only a characteristic American development, but it is marked indelibly as stemming from the Middle West. True, Dr. Townsend happened to be living in Long Beach, California, when he first worked out his famous idea; but Long Beach, as I can testify from personal experience, is practically a suburb of Iowa and the Doctor himself lived most of his life in the corn-and-hog belt of the upper Mississippi. His plan has a long Midwestern lineage. In its belief in financial magic it goes back to the days of Greenbackism, the Populists and Sockless Jerry Simpson. Midwestern, also, is the evangelical fervor with which the plan is promulgated. The prairie has bred many a self-annointed Messiah, all alike in their fundamental characteristics: the burning zeal, the simplicity of economic argument, the automatic assumption that every opponent is a limb of Satan who, in his heart, knows that the crusader is right but has sold out to "the interests."

The dangers in a movement like this at the present moment are, or ought to be, fairly obvious. Subject Dr. Townsend's estimates of its strength to heavy discount and you still have several million people who have believed with all their hearts that salvation was coming and the Doctor was its prophet. Even if their faith survives the shattering blows of the Washington investigation, it is sure to be upset in the fairly near future. Either the Townsend Plan won't be tried or if—as is ten times more unlikely—it is tried in some modified form, it won't achieve what its adherents expect. In either case, bitter disappointment waits them. The old-age pensions provided under the Social Security Act are too small and too far away to provide any sort of adequate substitute. You have, therefore, a situation charged with political dynamite.

If Huey Long had lived, it is not at all impossible that he might have taken the movement away from Dr. Townsend and Mr. Clements, mere children in those arts of demagoguery which Long practiced, more or less instinctively, from childhood. There is a real danger that some new Huey Long may turn up even now, without the moderation and the willingness to maintain democratic processes that Dr. Townsend displays. After all, the believers in the O.A.R.P. are economic illiterates held together chiefly by the burning conviction that our civilization could do far more for the aged—and for everybody—than it does. Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany, began their rise to power by making promises strikingly similar to the fundamental concepts of the Townsend Plan; and their first followers, though their average age was doubtless lower, were much like the adherents of that plan today. That is one reason why the movement, for all the revelations regarding it in Washington, still needs watching, and will for a long time to come.

BRUCE BLIVEN.

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Washington Notes

A New Program for Youth—The N.Y.A. Wants to Expand—The "Antioch Idea"—Youth Must Be Fed

MR. ROOSEVELT'S suggestion in his Baltimore speech, two weeks ago, that all youth under eighteen be withdrawn from private industry was not—as the press generally assumed—a New Deal white rabbit. On the contrary, the drafting of a new, great youth program is one of the major preoccupations of the administration. It is possible that such a program will be announced during the campaign, as a reason why Mr. Roosevelt should be retained in office.

The question of a new youth program has been precipitated by the relative success of Mr. Aubrey Williams' National Youth Administration. On the whole, the N.Y.A. has met with praise from adults. While it has been bitterly criticized by youth itself, the criticism has been chiefly that it has helped too few young people, and helped those inadequately. By extending the N.Y.A., Mr. Roosevelt would run no political risk, and would stand to gain wide support from first voters.

However, recently Mr. Roosevelt and his advisers awoke to the fact that if the N.Y.A. were enlarged and made permanent, the federal government would find itself operating the most important educational institution in the country. Its only possible rival would be the C.C.C., and the belief is growing that ultimately the N.Y.A. and C.C.C. should be combined in one agency. The C.C.C. is now under the War Department, and no one—least of all the army's generals—thinks it should remain there. In prospect, then, is a new agency exercising control over a majority of male youth between sixteen and eighteen, a large minority of male youth between eighteen and twenty-four, and an unpredictable number of girls and young women. Obviously, such an agency demands prayerful planning by the administration.

When the N.Y.A. was inaugurated, nine months ago, it was viewed with jealousy by the Office of Education, and by teachers' groups outside the government, like the National Education Association. This hostility has since been softened, in part through the efforts of Dr. George F. Zook, a former Commissioner of Education and now head of the non-governmental American Council on Education. Dr. Zook has great prestige with public-school authorities, and is perhaps Mr. Roosevelt's chief adviser on educational policy.

With the idea of formulating proposals acceptable to both teachers and the administration, Dr. Zook aided in setting up a private research group, the American Youth Commission. Among those on its advisory board are Owen D. Young, Newton D. Baker and Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher. Its director is President Rainey of Bucknell. The Commission's preliminary recommendations are expected to be made public in about ten days.

Meantime, the N.Y.A. is pressing for expansion of its current activities, particularly its work program. It will be recalled that the N.Y.A.'s activities fall into two categories. It is now paying out $15 a month to 121,000 college undergraduates, $30 a month to 5,121 graduate students, and $6 a month—with gifts of clothing—to 245,000 high-school students. Payments are made through colleges and high schools, the N.Y.A. merely furnishing the funds. In addition, however, the N.Y.A. is carrying out a work program employing 210,000 youths, nearly all of whom receive instruction on the job. N.Y.A. officials believe that the work program constitutes, at least potentially, a wholly new kind of popular university.

In Iowa, the N.Y.A. sponsors a work project concerned with providing farmers with healthy seed. The 1934 drought and the administration's crop-restriction program have created a great demand for special kinds of seed, and it has been hard for farmers to obtain supplies that were not chaff. The director of this particular project begged Ames University to furnish him with instructors. After hours, the boys are now studying plant pathology, and presumably will soon be led into biology as a whole. Many pedagogues would agree that this is education at its best. The boys are learning by doing. Moreover, what they are doing is approved by the adult world, and this approval is demonstrated by the fact that the adult world is ready to pay money—$15 a month—to have it done.

This case is perhaps exceptional. At the other end of the scale are the cases where three or four youths, paid by N.Y.A. funds, work as helpers on an adult W.P.A. construction job. Here the job foreman, meeting with the boys a few nights a month in his home, may be the only teacher, and the instruction pitifully limited.

According to estimates, there are between 1,200,000 and 1,500,000 jobs in private industry now held by youths, or enough jobs to care for perhaps 15 percent of the unemployed. For the N.Y.A., following Mr. Roosevelt's suggestion, to remove all youths from private industry, would necessitate a great expansion of its present program. The prerequisite, according to N.Y.A. officials, would be recognition by the community that definite community jobs belong to youth. The N.Y.A. has compiled a long list of tentative youth projects—some of which, in my opinion, show more ingenuity than sound sense. However, there are four types of work where jobs might be easily and permanently assigned to youth: conservation (where the C.C.C. has already pioneered); public health; public construction (as part of a permanent public-works program); and public recreation. Such work projects would not directly fit youths to hold jobs in private industry. The feeling in the N.Y.A. seems to be strongly against vocational training, chiefly because it is often given in private factories and permits exploitation.

Many N.Y.A. officials are committed to the "Antioch idea"—the plan developed by Antioch College for alternate periods of work and study. They would like to bring the public schools into their future program, and have youths spend ten days or two weeks each month on work projects, and the rest of the time in public-school classrooms. Their plan for instruction on the job, as part of the work program, is still vague. At present, instruction is given by project directors, or—as in the case of the Iowa seed project—by volunteers. N.Y.A. officials do not think that a corps of professional teachers will be necessary.

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The teachers' group, particularly the American Youth Commission, has not yet expressed its opinion of the N.Y.A.'s program. However, many teachers seem to think that there is no necessity for such drastic innovations as the N.Y.A. suggests. They point out that the youth problem—in the sense of competition between youths and adults for jobs—is on the road to solving itself. The percentage of the total youth population attending high school has moved from 12.66 percent in 1910, to 28.43 percent in 1920, to approximately 60 percent in 1930. In another decade, the teachers say, nearly all youths under eighteen will be in school, and removed from the labor market. This is a hopeful outlook, but neither the youth nor the unemployed in 1936 can eat statistical trends.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Two Kinds of Robbers—Does the Law Get the Wrong Men?—Investors Take Another Beating

EVERY now and then the morning thrillers which are known as newspapers treat us to the report of an incident that hoists ever so little our confidence in a possible return of the good old American virtues. Last week it was the train robbery at the Walnut Street station in Nutley, New Jersey, just a few miles outside of New York City. Last year it was Mr. John Dillinger, who was in the banking business. This homely and time-honored method of robbing banks and railroads has fairly gone out of vogue. Yet I do not see how anyone can fail to prefer it to the inside-job technique that came into popularity with the extinction of the James Boys, the Younger Gang and the Dalton Brothers.

First, the type of train robbery employed at Walnut Street, Nutley, is far cheaper than the kind practised at Wall Street, New York. Compare, for instance, the modest haul of $958.35 taken by the Nutley operatives with the loot which has been dug out of that same Erie road over and over again by the gentlemen who operated from downtown Manhattan.

Second, the moral elements in the Nutley approach are superior. Compare, for instance, a train robbery carried on by a stranger or two attacking from outside the train, to one by the train crew, with the conductor as pool manager. With the passengers and train at their mercy and lulled into a sense of security, the conductor-train robber takes infinitely less chance than a masked financier on a horse. I think it must be said for the conductor and his aides, and to their eternal glory, that they have held up no trains. However, this can hardly be said for some of the more important officials who outrank the conductors, who manage their hold-ups from the directors' room and cannot even be called desperadoes. This latter method is, of course, far safer. But it is less admirable. I don't know why, but perhaps it is because the old-fashioned train robber could hold up his train without running afoul of any of the cherished copy-book maxims about trust.

I felt the same way when Mr. John Dillinger was doing his banking business with a revolver instead of a fountain pen. In fact, the notion entered my head at an earlier date. It was back in the days when that grand old institution, the Bank of United States, was flourishing. I had to pass several times a day one of its large and busy branches. They seemed to be hauling money—actual money, coin and paper—in and out of the bank all the time. Armored cars would drive up and men in uniform and Sam Browne belts and drawn revolvers would leap out. Inside the bank, but outside the cages, there were always men armed to the teeth parading around. I had just looked over the corporate set-up of that bank. And I could not help feeling that the warrior sleuths who guarded the treasure were watching the wrong men.

And so I feel it would immensely simplify our already too highly complicated society if we could get this situation straightened out—with our train robbing and bank robbing in the hands of the train robbers and bank robbers and our bank and railroad directors sticking to their own function. It would not only avoid jurisdictional disputes, but it would reduce the losses in railroading and banking.

It has, I venture to suggest, another point of superiority. The number of casualties would be less. Of course Mr. Dillinger and, we may assume, the daring speculators who performed at Nutley, go about with sawed-off shot guns and shoot an occasional teller or policeman. No one will defend this. But these few, and frequently painless—because swift—deaths can hardly be compared in number with the mortalities that result from the larger and more expansive operations of the unarmed bank and railroad operators who do business from an office.

Besides, I am sure the old-fashioned or direct approach of robbing a bank or railroad would be easier on our insurance companies. The kind of people killed by train robbers and bank robbers are small-salaried persons—tellers, baggage masters, an occasional engineer or fireman. They are men carrying very small insurance policies, so that the loss occasioned by their taking off is quite small. But the director or main-office type of robbery results in the deaths of very important people—carrying large policies—either by suicide or heartbreak.

One of Mr. Insull's companies, the National Electric Power Company, issued $10,000,000 of debentures. Certain operating electric companies were deposited in trust with the Chase National Bank as security for the debentures. The agreement permitted the National Electric Power Company to withdraw all or any part of these securities at any time and substitute others. In due time the National did withdraw the securities and substitute others. The securities substituted were the bonds of holding companies. And in good time the National defaulted on its debentures. But by this time the holding-company securities substituted for the sound operating-company securities were worthless, or nearly so.

Certain holders of the debentures, who lost their money by the substitution, sued the Chase National Bank as trustee for permitting this substitution. Judge Samuel I. Roseman decided everything in favor of the debenture holders but the case. They got practically everything but the decision and their money.

But the Judge did put his finger on a delicate spot in this whole business of investment. It must be built on

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confidence—confidence in someone. This indenture permitted the substitution. But investors do not and in practice cannot read indentures or bonds. They could not understand them if they would. Therefore they must rely on someone who can understand. All the laws in the world will not protect investors until bankers, brokers, investment houses are honest. They will not be honest so long as they are part of the great speculative machine.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

On the Labor Front

William Green as Prophet—Industrial History in the Making—"Frankenstein" Unions

IN A RECENT issue of The Magazine of Wall Street—a rather odd place to find the head of the American labor movement—William Green predicts that the drive for industrial unionism will fail. John L. Lewis and the Committee for Industrial Organization, he observes, are a minority supported by only eight of the one hundred and nine international unions in the A.F. of L. This argument for the craft cause is somewhat overwhelming in terms of mathematical proportions (if one forgets that the eight unions represent more than a third of the total A.F. of L. membership), but I wonder how much weight it will carry with the steel and auto workers, both of whose annual conventions start this week.

Industrial unionism is the paramount issue before both of these conventions—a fact that suggests that the industrial unionists are perhaps not quite so feeble and inconsequential as Mr. Green would like to believe. At Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, where the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers is meeting, the steel workers have a choice between two offers. Lewis and the C.I.O. have offered to raise $500,000 to organize the steel industry along industrial lines, while the Executive Council of the A.F. of L. has proposed a fund of $1,500,000 for an organization drive that would, in all probability, preserve craft jurisdictions.

The decision reached at Canonsburg will unquestionably be of historic importance, for it can safely be said that steel will not be organized except along industrial lines. The testimony of the past is eloquent on this point. To begin with, there is the failure of the 1919 strike, due in large measure to the division of leadership and members that resulted from an attempt to place the workers in twenty-four craft unions. There is also the failure of the N.R.A. period, when 100,000 joined the Amalgamated Association, only to find their hopes let down by inaction and lack of support by the A.F. of L. At present the Amalgamated has perhaps 8,000 members—mostly skilled workers—in an industry of more than 400,000. This record not only reflects the impotence of the craft policy in a mass-production industry, but also strongly suggests the disinterest of the craft leaders in organizing such fields.

By coincidence or otherwise, the A.F. of L.'s record in the automobile industry follows the same pattern. The Executive Council, in a half-hearted attempt at organizing the industry, has insisted on preserving certain craft jurisdictions, though the auto workers themselves have protested bitterly that such a policy was not only impractical but absolutely fatal to effective organization. The Executive Council, however, has had its way, and the auto workers have remained unorganized. It is doubtful whether as many as ten percent are A.F. of L. members today. The charter granted the International Union of United Auto Workers last year is restricted in scope and excludes important blocs of skilled workers. Moreover, the present officials are personal appointees of President Green and, not surprisingly, are craft-minded individuals. It will surprise no one if these officials are among the casualties of the Auto Workers' Convention at South Bend, Indiana, this week.

Meanwhile, there are many indications that the steel workers themselves are eager for effective organization. Most significant in this respect are the so-called "Frankenstein" unions—the company unions that have broken away from domination by the steel employers. This development has come about largely through the efforts of steel employees who, though trade-union minded, lost confidence in the Amalgamated after the N.R.A. fiasco and joined the company union in self-defense. As a result, a goodly number of recently elected representatives in company unions have been men of this type—former members of the Amalgamated or other unions—and they have succeeded in turning the employer organizations toward real trade-union activities.

In the Chicago district, where such organization is probably most advanced, the movement began two years ago by the setting up of a district council of company-union representatives called "The Associated Iron and Steel Representatives of the Chicago Wage District." Fourteen different plants were represented, but it was soon realized that the council, though able to obtain some betterment of wages, was not strong enough to get substantial results. The progressive representatives, accordingly, turned their attention to strengthening their base of operations by converting the company unions into independent unions. Last year at the Carnegie Steel plant in South Chicago, they voted to establish the "Associated Employees of the South Works," an independent union. Beginning with a dues-paying membership of a few hundred, the organization has now passed the 2,000 mark and is growing rapidly. Other plants in Chicago, in Gary and in other steel towns are witnessing a similar revolt.

Recently a national committee of Carnegie workers, including ten elected under the company-union plans in the Pittsburgh and Youngstown districts, asked the company for recognition as the national collective-bargaining unit. In addition, the committee asked for a general 15-percent wage increase, a forty-hour week and vacations with pay. The company, of course, rejected the demands and thereby demonstrated to the steel workers that company unions, even under progressive leadership, are not enough.

The chances now appear most promising that the steel workers will endorse the proposal of the Committee for Industrial Organization. Thus so far as the steel and automobile industries are concerned, President Green's prophecy would seem to be anything but reliable.

WILLIAM P. MANGOLD.

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The Bandwagon

Your house is incomplete without a protective shelter against gas and bombardment.

L. Charpentier, building contractor, construction engineer and architect of tombstones and mausoleums (10 rue Cachin, Honfleur, Tel. 0.69; and 24 route de Port, Bayeux, Tel. 1.73) is at your service for making plans for a shelter adapted to your needs, in harmony with your estate, and in accordance with the rules of the Ministry of the Interior. Best construction guaranteed.—*From an advertisement in Echo, Honfleur, France, quoted in Le Barrage.*

The "Truth in Advertising" campaign has been so successful in the United States that it is no longer necessary to place emphasis on it, Allen B. McIntyre, "ambassador" of the Advertising Federation of America, today told members of the British Advertising Association. "You simply cannot be untruthful and stay in advertising," he declared.

Advertising is being reduced "to the level of a burlesque script and its practitioners to the status of Minsky comedians," according to Paul E. Murphy, advertising manager of the Loeser Department Store. Mr. Murphy deplored the use of pseudo-scientific terms and false appeals to vanity and fear in the tactics of some national advertisers. —*From two items appearing on the same page of The New York Post.*

Dependent children of Somerset County, Maryland, faced an unsettled financial problem after the county commissioners voted not to appropriate money for their aid.

L. Cooper Dize, one of the board members who voted against the appropriation of $96 a month, said:

"Let the children rough it awhile—they'll get along." —*The Minneapolis Tribune, Minneapolis, Minn.*

Our boys have to live for twenty-one years before they can cast a vote. People coming from foreign nations can reside here for five years and then exercise a right that your boy cannot exercise for less than twenty-one years, although he is born an American and is a better American at five years of age than the foreign born ever gets to be.—*Rev. J. T. Martin, Methodist Episcopal Church, Loyall, Ky., in a letter to The Louisville, Ky., Times.*

An Economist in Training

Every year I make a visit to the Winter Quarters of Ringling's Circus at Sarasota, Florida. I do this to see the training of the performers. . . . This training awakens within me a desire to give more attention to my own daily work.—*Roger W. Babson, in Circus Magazine and Daily Review.*

Add Definitions of Communism: 2

Communism . . . is simply liberalism standing on its head.—*Hoffman Nickerson, in the April issue of The American Review.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address the Bandwagon, care of The New Republic.—The Editors.

A COMMUNICATION

Foreign Correspondents in Italy

SIR: Last March, thirty Austrian Socialists were tried in Vienna on charges of high treason and underground activities against the present Fascist-Catholic regime. Twelve were sentenced to from six weeks' to eighteen months' imprisonment; the rest were acquitted. The New York Times of March 29, in commenting the leniency of the trial, stated that "according to report from Vienna, the judges' decision had been influenced by the intense interest which Liberal and Socialist circles outside Austria had taken in the proceedings." Also in Germany, during the fall of 1933, the proceedings of the trial for the Reichstag fire were deeply influenced by the watchful attitude of the English and American press. If no newspaper outside Germany had paid any attention to that trial, it is quite probable that Hitler, Goebbels and Göring would have won two good death sentences against Dimitroff and Torgler.

Dictators are afraid of public opinion. They choke it at home and expend vast amounts of skill and money to "doctor" it abroad. If foreign newspapers do not permit themselves to be regimented, dictators run the risk of squandering their skill and their money to no avail. Under these conditions, the responsibility of foreign correspondents living in countries governed by dictatorial regimes becomes tremendous. They may do one of two things—they may either restrain dictators or become their accomplices.

Most of the foreign correspondents living in Italy have made their choice. When they behaved satisfactorily, they were granted personal interviews with Mussolini, were entertained at the homes of the Roman nobility and of high Fascist personages, were adorned with decorations and enjoyed everywhere the most pleasant hospitality. If, on the contrary, they sent "prejudiced" or "inaccurate" information to their papers, they were insulted, manhandled or expelled. Thus, a systematic selection has taken place. Most of the foreign correspondents left in Italy today do not care a damn about what is happening to the Italian people. They only want to enjoy life without too much labor and are willing to pay the price by playing into the hands of Mussolini. Their job is an easy one. They have but to go every day at a given hour to the Ministry of the Press and Propaganda, receive their dose of "dope," manipulate it into the shape of "good news" and cable it to their papers. This regimentation of most foreign correspondents is probably Mussolini's most striking achievement. But it has taken him fourteen years to train and tame foreign correspondents to this extent. Hitler and Starhemberg may hope that within ten years they will also have achieved a similar success.

Last February, a scholar, Dr. Pesenti, was sentenced by the Special Tribunal for the Defense of the State, to twenty-four years' imprisonment. He was charged with having published in France articles criticizing the Fascist regime, with having attended a meeting in Brussels at which speeches were delivered against the Italo-Ethiopian war, and with belonging to an anti-Fascist association in Italy. Though no more than twenty-five years old, Dr. Pesenti had obtained the professorship of Finance at the University of [illegible]

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and monetary policy since the World War, published in 1933, was recognized as a highly illuminating survey by experts both in England and in Italy.

During the same month, the Tribunal ground down a group of five Communist workers, condemning one to twenty-four years' imprisonment and the other four to an aggregate of forty-five years' imprisonment.

On February 27 and 28, the Tribunal tried a group of six Piedmontese intellectuals: Vittorio Foà, a young scholar in economics and political science; Massimo Mila, twenty-four years old, music critic and author of a fine book on Verdi's operas; Gianotto Perelli, an old civil servant, and his young son, who had already been imprisoned for six months in 1932; Michele Giua, forty-five years old, who had been a teacher at the Technological Institute (Politecnico) and at the Military Academy of Turin; Augusto Monti, fifty-two years old, one of the most popular teachers of Latin and Greek in the secondary schools of Turin and author of three novels, one of which was awarded a national prize two years ago.

In 1931 Giua, rather than take the teachers' oath, resigned his position. One of his crimes was that of visiting, in Paris, his son, who had fled from Italy to escape imprisonment. His wife was imprisoned for a month at the same time. Monti had also resigned his position rather than make himself the mouthpiece of Fascist propaganda. One of his crimes was that of having cared for the two little children of Giua who had been left alone at home after the arrest of their father and mother. Monti pleaded guilty to this crime: "Yes, indeed, and I am proud of it! I am only ashamed that in a country which boasts of being civilized a person can be accused of having had pity on two boys left alone in their home. Yes, gentlemen, I took them to school and to the movies. I regret that my finances did not allow me to take them into my house, where I could have cared for them better."

He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment; Perelli, his son and Mila to eight years each; and Foà and Giua to fifteen years each. Total, fifty-nine years.

Last March, the Tribunal sentenced seventeen Communist workers to an aggregate of one hundred and two years' imprisonment.

So far as I know, none of the American correspondents, though they are supposed to send their papers impartial information concerning the state of Italian affairs, has deemed it advisable to take cognizance of these trials and sentences. They were too busy cabling to their papers, day in and day out, that the Italian people as a whole stands solidly behind Mussolini. Had they informed the American public of these sentences, the American public might have harbored some doubts as to the unanimity of the Italian people for Mussolini. Mussolini grants these correspondents five thousand words a month free of charge if they cable only what pleases their master, but they must not allow themselves to become cognizant of inconvenient occurrences. Add to this, that during the trials in question the defendants maintained an attitude of dignity, asked for no leniency and proudly asserted their responsibility. Had wept, begged for mercy, had they accused one another, may rest assured that the foreign correspondents, with maximum of speed, would have cabled that these anti- ascists had showed themselves weak and vile

During the time of Queen Elizabeth, an ambassador was defined as a gentleman sent abroad to lie in the service of his government. Today, as far as Italy is concerned, a foreign correspondent may be defined as a gentleman sent to Italy to lie or to play the deaf-mute in the service of Mussolini.

The profession of foreign correspondent is without doubt one of the noblest professions of modern times. But there exists no noble profession that cannot become ignoble if he who exercises it was born with the soul of a slave.

Cambridge, Mass. GAETANO SALVEMINI.

[While we warmly agree with Dr. Salvemini's general point of view, we feel that his strictures against the foreign correspondents are too harsh and too sweeping, for several reasons:

1. The fact that correspondents continue to be expelled from Italy suggests that not all of them yield so readily to Fascist blandishments as he says. A great deal of news hostile to the Mussolini regime still gets out of Italy and is published.

2. The theory that correspondents who happen to be assigned to Italy are complaisant or venal, and that many working in Austria or Germany are not, seems to us too simple and easy to be in accord with the facts.

3. Dr. Salvemini assumes that all foreign correspondents are free agents whose duty it is, as soon as they arrive in Italy, to write a few dispatches that will bring about their expulsion. But this could be true at best of only a limited proportion of such correspondents. The press associations, for example, must keep reporters in Italy at almost any cost in order to protect their clients with routine coverage. A man who disregarded such instructions and got himself expelled would simply be replaced by another who would obey orders.—THE EDITORS.]

CORRESPONDENCE

Tax Where the Money Is

SIR: In the issue of April 8, George Terborgh wrote concerning the new Social Security Act and the fact that the forced savings which the Act would bring about would make it possible for the government to tax some of the other savings that are now being made.

That line of argument is very sound. Nevertheless, there seems about as much chance of enacting any such tax bill as most of us have of becoming millionaires. The Liberty League, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the National Association of Manufacturers as well as the various tax leagues, not to mention the press, will put up such a howl that the great majority of the people will really think that their best interest is being served by a lower income tax upon the great incomes and the ridiculous wage and payroll tax which the Social Security Act puts into effect.

If the Social Security Act happens, by some freak of nature, to run the gauntlet of the Supreme Court, it will be creating additional savings from a quarter where now savings are not being made. Thus, every cent of those savings will mean a loss in the sale of goods. They will defeat the very purpose for which they were designed. If any social-insurance scheme is going to be sound it must accumulate its reserves in a manner that will put present savings, which would be made anyway, into a fund that will serve the unemployed in time of depression.

If my memory serves me right, the state of New Jersey is using an inheritance tax to set up an old-age pension system, and it was

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said when the Campbell Soup multi-millionaire died that his fortune was serving the people of New Jersey far better than he ever could serve them himself. If some such method could be used to build up the reserves for a federal security system it would be economically sound.

Warners, N. Y. CLARENCE ARMSTRONG.

Wilson on Russia and Vice Versa

SIR: Some time ago you ran an article on Nazi mouthings called, aptly, "Out of Their Own Mouths." With the publication of Edmund Wilson's latest anti-Soviet viciousness in your April 15 issue you have successfully qualified as being quotable in such a symposium. Hearst could do not better—in fact, I look for extracts from the article to appear in his editorial columns within the next fews days. . . .

New York City. E. T. GUSTAFSON.

SIR: After having read a series of articles by Mr. George Soule, published in your distinguished periodical, I am at a loss to account for the motive which prompts the publication of a similar series by Mr. Edmund Wilson. They seem to me neither informing nor illuminating—in fact, quite trivial stuff, equally unworthy of The New Republic and Mr. Wilson. . . .

Indianapolis, Ind. ARTHUR ZINKIN.

SIR: As a constant reader of yours for four years, may I be permitted to say that it is hard to see the utility of a series like Edmund Wilson's on Soviet Russia, unless it is to give us a glimpse of an intellectual's contortions in trying to convince himself that while "communism" is acceptable to him, "communists" are worthy only of contempt. Every other paragraph of his articles shows that he would still love to "take Communism away from the Communists" and give it over (the gods forbid!) to the Edmund Wilsons. . . .

New York City. H. OPPENHEIM.

SIR: As a candid account of the impact of Soviet Russia on a middle-class intellectual who is sympathetic to communism, Edmund Wilson's series seems to me to be one of the healthiest contributions to current intellectual controversies that has recently been made; I want to congratulate The New Republic on publishing it. I can't agree with some of the conclusions implicit in his articles—they seem to me to spring from an unrealistic view of the menaces that the Soviet Union faces or has faced. But it is a relief to find an observer who will admit the reality of his capitalist-developed prejudices without trying to defend them, and who can report on his reactions to life in the Soviet Union without denying or minimizing those aspects of it which run counter to his training or which rasp sensibilities educated in another kind of environment. For all their severe criticism, Wilson's articles seem to me to make life under the dictatorship of the proletariat more interesting and more real—and thus more understandable and attractive—than the writing of those visitors who, returning, have been unable to communicate much except their enthusiasm or their hatred.

New York City. ROBERT CANTWELL.

Von Ossietzky and the Nazis

SIR: As Carl von Ossietzky's friend and former legal defender I want to thank you sincerely for your editorial of April 22, in which you so warmly intercede for him. It ought to be added that the Nazis' inhuman treatment of Ossietzky was "explained" by Goebbels in a radio speech on the eve of the so-called election of March 29 thus:

> Formerly treason had been acceptable in the drawing room and was even considered in fashion. The people who formerly thought so are now offering Nobel Peace Prizes to traitors. To us, however, anyone who sets his own financial interests above the interests of the country is a criminal, and it is a matter of indifference to us whether he is of the nobility or not. We treat him as a criminal and do not release him. It is better that a traitor's head fall in peacetime than that later, in wartime, hundreds of soldiers lose their lives on his account.

I would be insulting a man of honor like Ossietzky if I were to answer the assertion that Ossietzky ever set his financial interests above the interests of the nation with anything more than this: In this assertion of Goebbels' there is not a word of truth.

After Goebbels' declaration there can be no doubt that Ossietzky is in the gravest danger of death. He can be saved only if world opinion arises to protect him.

New York City. DR. KURT ROSENFELD.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

A correspondent in Berkeley, California, calls attention to a campaign for the fingerprinting of all citizens of that city and vicinity which he thinks is being used as a testing ground in preparation for a national drive. Large industrial plants and business establishments are requiring that their employees be fingerprinted in order to remain in their jobs and there is a substantial movement to have the city council pass legislation making the practice mandatory for the entire population. Our correspondent quotes rumors that the American Liberty League and the United States Chamber of Commerce are backing the drive and would greatly appreciate it if readers of The New Republic who have any information on the subject would communicate with him. Information sent to The New Republic will be promptly forwarded.

Mr. Read Lewis of the Foreign Language Information Service, Inc., 222 Fourth Avenue, New York City, sends us an announcement of a conference on the problems of aliens in America to be held in Washington, D. C., at the Hotel Washington on Saturday, May 2. Speakers will include John G. Winant, Will Irwin and Maurice Hindus. . . . Dorothy E. Bradbury of the State University of Iowa Child Welfare Research Station sends an announcement of the tenth Iowa Conference on Child Development and Parent Education to be held in Iowa City, June 16, 17 and 18. Many of the country's leading authorities will participate in these sessions.

Mr. William Jay Schieffelin, chairman of American Aid for Ethiopia, Inc., 2 West Forty-sixth Street, New York City, calls attention to the plight of that beleaguered African kingdom in which both civil and miiltary victims of air raids and poison-gas attacks are desperately in need of medical and relief supplies. He asks sympathizers to send funds at once for relief work.

The Artists' Union of New York, 430 Sixth Avenue, New York City, has called a convention of delegates from artists' unions throughout the East, to be held May 7 to 10. A similar meeting will be held in Chicago in June. The purpose of the two meetings will be to form a National Artists' Union, to aid artists' economic interests generally and to work for a permanent Federal Art Project. A session of the convention open to the public will be held at the New Yorker Hotel on the evening of May 7 and adressed by Stuart Davis, George Biddle, Elmer Rice, Francis Gorman and others.

What's on the Air?

Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Professor Carlston E. Warne and Benjamin Marsh on People's Lobby program discussing phases of consumers' coöperative movement. Saturday, May 2, 2 to 2:30 P. M., N.B.C.-WEAF.

Carl Bachmann, campaign manager for Senator Borah, sets forth his candidate's qualifications. Tuesday, May 5, 11:15 to 11:30 P. M., C.B.S.

Edgar Mowrer, Geneva correspondent for The Chicago Daily News, will interpret results of French elections in an international rebroadcast from Paris. Monday, May 4, 10:30 to 10:45 A. M., C.B.S.

Paul Hoffman, president of Studebaker Corporation, will give an automobile manufacturer's viewpoint on the question of highway safety. Wednesday, May 6, 10 to 10:30 P. M., N.B.C.-WJZ.

Students and alumni of Oberlin College holding mock national convention of the Republican Party, this being the nineteenth quadrennial affair of its kind. Saturday, May 9, 11 to 11:45 P. M., C.B.S.

Herbert Hoover makes his last formal address prior to the Republican convention in a broadcast from Philadelphia. Thursday, May 21, 8:30 to 9 P. M., C.B.S.

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More and Less Nijinsky

The Tragedy of Nijinsky, by Anatole Bourman, in collaboration with D. Lyman. New York: Whittlesey House. 311 pages. $3.

MR. BOURMAN—his family in Russia objected to his dragging the real name on to the stage—was born in St. Petersburg and is a graduate of the Russian Imperial School of Ballet. He was a member of the Russian Imperial Opera House for four years; he received the highest award given an artist by the Tsar, a gold watch with the Imperial Crown and Double Eagle on it; he was a member of Diaghilev's troupe for ten years; and now has his own ballet school. He is by no means stupid, one sees that as one runs to read. What is it, then, that makes his effect so silly, wasteful and weighted with those present, what we did, and everything else except the artistic comment and point? Only God can answer these matters. It may have something to do with the operatic, or stage, perspective. A good thumping prima donna's conversation just after she has sung a Mozart heroine divinely can be just as silly. But knowing that does not keep us from wanting to shake Mr. Bourman for not telling us things he could easily have told about Nijinsky as artist.

It is obvious that the artist speaks in his own medium, or dialect. Mr. Bourman's medium is the dance, and there he doubtless said what he had to say. And so, as to the piffle that stage people have nearly always written, we might try blaming it on the whole tradition that holds in their memoirs. I have more or less read many of these memoirs that stage artists have written, and I have marveled constantly at what they have not said. An extraordinary being, proved so by many a performance and many a creative invention, will write as if the world were made up of people who have never understood anything of what his art was composed. It cannot be entirely any publisher's fault, as if to say the publisher sat down and said see here, don't be intelligent, your public won't stand that, just tell little bits, you know, stories, anecdote, human interest, show off a bit in words, sound like a child. It must be partly due to the fact that the average stage artist remains naïvely exhibitionistic even in print.

Even the book on Nijinsky by his wife tells more of his technical and artistic meanings than Mr. Bourman does. Madame Nijinsky, being his wife, naturally knew more about the artist than he could know about himself. Mr. Bourman, whose word, as a mere male, and as a believer in art, I might take before that of any feminine all-inclusion, envelopment and understanding, tells us practically nothing of Nijinsky's ideas. And yet the fact remains that he was Nijinsky's closest friend for years. They were classmates at the ballet school, they were two young men on the town, as it were, they were together almost until the time when the shadow fell and the great artist passed into a creature sitting quietly in a chair, looking before him. By a certain delicate instinct Mr. Bourman does not say many things that he might say; he respects od taste and the privacy of persons. On Diaghilev he ays nothing of value except to quote in direct discourse, if he had taken the remarks down in shorthand moment moment, certain unde- -etic observations by which Diaghilev might be made *persona non grata* in this broad land. Diaghilev is a little *passé* now, tedious in a way, as stuffy, perhaps, as the splendors of Mrs. Langtry; but he, rather obviously, had something to him.

It occurs to me that I am trying to blame memoirs, tradition or literary clubs for Mr. Bourman's failure to talk more to the point and for that soft sweet edge with which he takes the sting not only out of Nijinsky but out of all great art. Detail after detail in that Russian life of the two young men, he and Vaslaw Nijinsky, seems bent merely on proving that Vaslaw was only too much like the rest of us. What it does not prove is that the rest of us are not like Vaslaw. It shows, in fact, very little except that, as an old ranchman said to me once in Texas, when you are talking to fools it doesn't matter what you say. But plenty of readers are not fools.

The fact remains, nevertheless, that the earlier parts of the book provide many sidelights on a vehement and passionate being. We do really get a sense of that boy spending by preference his evenings with his mother and sister, of that boy who had to learn things his own way but whose magnetism and bodily aptitude made him from the start a special case. We get a sense of that marvelous and incalculable element in Nijinsky by which we are made humble and willing to be lifted by him. The rest of the book is largely tosh, though not such bad stage tosh as stage tosh goes. It made me think of Duse's saying that to save the theatre we must kill all the actors.

I myself used to see Nijinsky when he was at his peak. It was, I think, the year before the World War began. All that London season I saw him two or three times a week. I had never seen anything like it. To this day I can say that Nijinsky and Mei Lan-fang are in diverse ways for me the final summations of what the theatre can be. I can remember a London friend of Nijinsky's asking me what I thought of "Narcisse," and quoting him as saying that he was tired of being beautiful, it made him seasick. Even that remark quoted, half-trivial as it may be, gets us somewhere at least.

It is not easy, therefore, to be patient with Mr. Bourman and such passages as that in which, writing of the "Gala Performance at the Grand Opera de Paris," he speaks of how evening "found us at the Place Pigalle with a gay congregation of Bohemians, laughing at the pranks of cabaret performers and delighting in the typically French show that was offered." The account of a ballet audience is worse—"millions of gems glinted from the throats, the arms, the hair of fascinating and vivacious women, gowned, I knew past doubt, by Worth, Paquin, and other smart Parisian couturiers. The men's trim black evening dress and snowy shirts provided a contrasting note of soberness in that cosmopolitan gathering where French, German, English, American, Italian, Spanish and Russian notables were drawn into cultivated accord"—*et cetera,* about which one can only note how silly Europe at its supposed top of the exquisite can be. My advice to this best friend of Nijinsky's is that he sit down and write for intelligent people an account of a great artist about whom he is one of the very few with any right to speak. For example, just when did that singular boldness of conception, that fresh power in design, first begin to show in Nijinsky?

STARK YOUNG.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Communists' New Line

WHEN THE editors of The New Republic invited me to review this book[1] they doubtless wanted a discussion of differences between Socialists (not of the Old Guard persuasion) and Communists under their new line rather than a conventional book review. Such a discussion will have a controversial tone, but, let me remind the reader, a far less belligerently controversial tone than if the Browder of, say 1932, could have been asked to review the work of the Browder of 1936. What would not that earlier Browder have had to say about the heresies of this book in respect to "class collaboration," the A.F. of L., the "social fascists" (Socialists), the notion of a possible good war between capitalist states, and American support of the League of Nations! My hair curls even to imagine the denunciation. The reader can get something of the difference in the Communist line by reading this new book and comparing it with William Z. Foster's "Toward a Soviet America."

No one can understand the feeling within the labor movement or the Socialist Party toward communism who simply reads this book and forgets that the sudden shift of line, on orders from on top, meant the abandonment, temporarily at least, of a persistent campaign of disruption in the A.F. of L., dual unionism and a denunciation of socialism and socialists more intense than any denunciation of fascism. It is true, as Mr. Browder points out, that "a few weeks of united effort to save Angelo Herndon" did something to prove sincerity and good faith, but it is expecting a great deal to think that a few weeks of anything will suffice to still in all minds the question: "May not this new line be ended as suddenly as it was begun?" For my part I hope for the best. I find the new line as expounded by Earl Browder pleasanter and on the whole more promising in the struggle against fascism in America than the old.

This book is primarily a clear and readable, though none too adequate or systematic, exposition of the new Communist line in America. It has one admirable chapter of economic analysis entitled "A Special Kind of Depression," but it takes pretty much for granted the Marxian analysis of capitalism. It gets around to a discussion of the class struggle and the role of the workers about the middle of the book, in the process of proving that the leadership of the workers does not preclude coöperation of some middle-class elements. Its chapters on religion, the family, Soviet Russia, and a glimpse of Soviet America, are evidently written from the standpoint of the most elementary and ingratiating propaganda. They are very superficial. Consider Earl Browder on religion: The Communists have a united front with church groups "on the most important issues of the day." They "take pains not to offend any religious belief." But they "stand without any reservations for education that will root out beliefs in the supernatural." They, the godless, are for a united front with Father Divine, who says he is God, because "Communists do not distinguish between good and bad religions, because we think they are all bad for the masses." (The author conveniently ignores Father Divine's anti-labor-union views.) Well, a united front with the religious on these terms is a great trick if you can work it.

In the otherwise excellent chapter on "The Negro People and Labor," the author repeats the old argument for self-determination of Negroes in the black belt—an argument wholly inconsistent with preaching real class solidarity and actually dangerous in its implications. It is justified by a false analogy between the position of the Negro in America and the fairly well localized cultural and language groups of Soviet Russia.

But there are other points that to a Socialist still further complicate the problem of the united front and ultimate organic unity for which Mr. Browder pleads. The more important of them are:

1. His understanding of fascism. Nowhere does he define his "American brand" of fascism so as to distinguish it from plain capitalist reaction and tyranny. It would appear that Long, to whose assassination he attaches a social significance not borne out by the facts, was a "semi-fascist"; that Roosevelt has done little or nothing to check fascism; that the Liberty League, Hearst, and the Republicans who hated Long and hate Roosevelt, are working for fascism. This failure to distinguish between Long, who was a genuine forerunner of fascism, and the Liberty League, which *at present* wants a return to the age of Coolidge, not fascism, makes it very hard to educate the American people on the real danger of fascism as a stage of capitalism, not a conspiracy of capitalists. The author is right in arguing that fascism will develop because of economic forces in America irrespective of Communist propaganda. Nevertheless the old-time accent on dictatorship and violence tended to further fascism.

2. Mr. Browder's conception of a farmer-labor party and the Communist and Socialist relation thereto. In the confines of this review I have only space to say without marshaling my proof that in 1936 there is no such drift to a farmer-labor party as the Communists profess to see. The more progressive sections of labor and the farmers may be ripe for a labor party in 1937, but in 1936, very mistakenly as I believe, they will support Roosevelt against a Republican, and the premature attempt of a few of us to call ourselves a farmer-labor party will arouse antagonism and delay the formation of a true farmer-labor party. Moreover, the function of Socialists and Communists now is not, like Earl Browder, to water down in advance their own programs, make love to everybody who wants a subsidy, try to cultivate Townsendites even to the soft-pedaling of the fact that theirs is essentially a plan to make socialism unnecessary, promise to take over and run every private industry that fails, without regard to its place in a total planned economy, and otherwise to go in for reformism. We may have to accept some of this when a real farmer-labor party is under way as the price of it. Certainly we want to encourage immediate demands not inconsistent with socialism to strengthen the workers (*e.g.*, the Frazier-Lundeen bill), but our main job now and later in a farmer-labor party is to insist that only socialism will bring plenty, peace and freedom. It is a bad reading of history and bad psychology to hold that the way to advance socialism is for us to advocate anything any discontented group wants in the hope that life will educate them later

[1] What Is Communism? by Earl Browder. New York: The Vanguard Press. 253 pages. $2.

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on. Communists may partially preserve their Marxist souls by saying that of course after the farmer-labor party with its middle-class allies gets into power it will still be necessary to have a socialist revolution with considerable violence, but they owe it to us to relate the reformist farmer-labor party and program to this revolution somewhat more clearly.

3. The new Communist doctrine of a possible good war for "democracy" of certain non-fascist capitalist states against fascist states. Mr. Browder might be more explicit, but he makes it reasonably clear that in order to defend Soviet Russia and oppose fascism, the United States should support League sanctions and, of course, logically prepare for war. He does not discuss the Franco-Soviet military pact and its implications for revolutionary socialism; he simply affirms its excellence. He praises, justly, much of Russia's foreign policy, but is silent on the Soviet sale of oil to Mussolini for war use and its implications. We Socialists who believe that the real enemy is capitalist nationalism, of which fascism is a stage; that capitalist United States will never go to war against Japan or Germany for reasons of which Earl Browder should approve, but only for those which William Randolph Hearst will approve; that the minute we go to war we shall get fascism at home, regard the Communist new line on war as a dangerous reversion to the old European Socialist line of 1914 which the Communists once condemned in unmeasured terms. By the same token we fail to see the distinction between Earl Browder's people's front or farmer-labor reformist program, and the old German Social Democratic reformism in the absolute terms in which he sees it.

Finally, it will be observed that the author confuses the dictatorship of one party with the dictatorship of the proletariat and the latter with workers' democracy. He does not successfully deny that Russian control has dominated world communism, even to the new line which Browder himself suddenly announced to his docile followers. And while supporting civil liberty in America he is silent on Communist theory and practice in Russia, which admits no right of civil liberty to the individual. Consider the Kirov case and its aftermath!

These things explain why for the overwhelming majority of Socialists organic unity with the Communists is out of the question. A united front is logically another matter. It should leave each party free to seek to advance its own points of view where they differ. Under French conditions a united front has been found possible and so far useful. In America the question is different. By uniting Socialists and Communist in one *political,* nationwide front, we won't have enough strength to stop fascism. The question is, will such union help or hinder the education of workers toward socialism? A realistic view of the situation, in view of the important difference between us and the labor skepticism concerning communism, makes me believe such a united front would not be worth its cost. Better wait for a genuinely inclusive farmer-labor party. Meanwhile let us go on with specific joint efforts in which Communists, Socialists and others work together to free Herndon, advance the Frazier-Lundeen bill and push labor organization and demonstrations. That we can do better rather than worse without slavishly trying to carry out a formula for a general political united front in forty-eight states and the nation.

Thus endeth a Socialist reaction to an interesting and timely Communist tract in support of the new Communist

Material for a Thesis

Education before Verdun, by Arnold Zweig. New York: The Viking Press. $2.50.

THE TWO most moving novels about the War that I remember reading were "The Case of Sergeant Grischa" and "All Quiet on the Western Front." As novels, the better of the two, I think, was "Sergeant Grischa." Remarque's book was not so much a story as a record; and Zweig's was more than a story. The experiences recorded in "All Quiet" have been shared only by soldiers—and by a minority of "veterans," at that; but Zweig presented a human tragedy whose terms are as true for peacetime as for war. "Sergeant Grischa" was the Sacco-Vanzetti case, it was every so-called "miscarriage of justice" that we have ever known or heard about: the sickening, inexorable, blundering process of sacrificing a human being on the altar of a non-existent social ideal. The War was not Zweig's subject but simply his background. But in "Education before Verdun," which is to be the second ("Sergeant Grischa" is the third) of his war tetralogy, he was faced with a more unwieldy problem, and he has failed to solve it.

The trouble is, I think, that in "Education before Verdun" Zweig tried to keep the same balance between his human protagonists and the scenery against which their tragedy was played; and that the scenery was too much for the actors. No individual human story can last long enough or seem important enough in such a corpse-factory as Verdun to bulk larger than an incident in its crowded hour. The "case of injustice" around which Zweig has written his book seems like very small potatoes in a market that measured such waste in staggeringly huger quantities. Probably because he was aware of this discrepancy he has tried to strengthen his theme of injustice by repeating it, in instance after instance. But what do they add up to? That there's a lot of dirty work in the army, that a man's liable to get into trouble for giving a prisoner a drink of water, that he's likely to be sent to a dangerous spot if he complains about his thieving superiors, that medals are not always (well, I'll be damned) awarded to just the right people, that a dog's obeyed in office, that hospitals sometimes get bombed, et cetera ad infinitum. All of this can be proved true and even make you angry for a while, and still it doesn't seem important, compared to the rest of what's going on. What's going on is that men are being killed and crippled by an impersonal plague of bullets, shrapnel and high explosive, in complete disregard of any morality or any ideas whatever.

The principal character of "Education before Verdun" is that same unwarriorlike Bertin who figured in Zweig's earlier volumes. Here he is shown as a private in an A.S.C. company which has the comparatively safe job of looking after an ammunition dump behind the German lines. Bertin is a marked man, a Jew and a writer; his superiors do their best to make things unpleasant for him. He does not realize how comparatively lucky he is until he runs into a young sergeant who has been condemned to death (by being sent to an advanced post, with no relief) for being a tattle-tale about a deal in rations that would get his superiors into trouble. At the young sergeant's funeral, which occurs shortly, Bertin meets the dead man's brother, a sapper lieutenant stationed in Douaumont, and tells him the tale. How the lieutenant goes about his devious vengeance and how he is finally balked of it forms the main part of the

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Whether or not the grisly material of Verdun could be translated into such terms as Zweig has attempted—a thematic novel, complete with plot, sub-plot and counter-plot—I don't know. "All Quiet" didn't attempt it, and partly for that reason was a better book. I wish Zweig had succeeded; but he hasn't. T. S. MATTHEWS.

Rebel Saint

Mazzini: Portrait of an Exile, by Stringfellow Barr. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 318 pages. $2.75.

IN WRITING the life of a saint it is hard to steer a middle course between piety and irreverence. Mazzini was certainly a saint of the humanitarian creed, and Mr. Barr has succeeded remarkably in presenting to us a Mazzini without a halo, perhaps a bit too human, but still impressive. Mr. Barr describes Mazzini as a restless and disgruntled man, an exile because of his own nature rather than because of the accidents of his life. There was no room for him in Italy when, his fight for unity having been won, the House of Savoy began its game of joining forces with the successful politicians (called constitutionalism until Mussolini came to power). Neither was there any room for him in the Marxist and Bakuninist movements which were beginning to sway Italian radicals in the sixties. But if Mazzini was so completely exiled from his own country, was he equally exiled from his own time? Was he a contemporary of some other era still to come, or was he exiled from any era? In other words, was he a prophet or was he a romantic utopian schemer?

Mr. Barr prefers to deal with the distressing and sometimes petty details of Mazzini's agitated life, thus running the danger of talking down his hero. The broader question regarding Mazzini's qualifications as a prophet was approached with greater Mazzinian piety by Mr. G. O. Griffith in a book published three years ago, which Mr. Barr rightly praises. Mr. Barr's book, sound and well documented as it is, could have been more useful if less biographical and more analytical of Mazzini's writings and role in history. This question is essential in the judgment upon Mazzini: is there or will there ever be a land or time offering peace to the restless soul of the constitutional exile? Italy after her unification went on exiling Mazzini more and more emphatically, adding to unresponsiveness the outrage of oleographic glorification. The ideal of an equilibrium of freely developed national interests, disciplined in a supernational organization, has made little headway through the world, even though President Wilson went to Genoa and placed a wreath on Mazzini's grave. Perhaps it is still the destiny of Mazzini to be cruelly betrayed in the realization of every one of his ideals, which in a sense was his wish, for he asserted his aims with such moral loftiness and uncompromising exaltation that he easily escaped being blackmailed by the bickerings of gradualism.

Mazzini was above all a great Italian, even more than a great humanitarian and an apostle of international co-operation, and he will remain a disturbing and undefinable ghost as long as his country does not find her own individuality. During his whole life he insisted that the political Risorgimento would have little meaning if not integrated by a moral renaissance; that political democracy was a sham if it did not grow into economic democracy; that by the weight of her past Italy was bound to develop her national movement as an example and guide for international coöperation. It seems to be a peculiar Italian

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characteristic to prospect national needs in universal terms. So in order to strengthen the movement for national unity Mazzini's universalistic drive was necessary, and in order to set the trains running on time a brand-new revolution had to be invented. Giolitti and Croce strove vainly to implant the taste for routine administration and sober thinking. Yet Mazzini, the constitutional exile, the inaccessible idealist whose life Mr. Barr has so carefully and with such timeliness described, seems to be ever haunting his countrymen with new hopes of "Italian initiative." There is no more vigorous anti-fascist movement outside Italy and no more persecuted one within the country than "Giustizia e Libertà," which is a direct offspring of Mazzini's methods and ideas. MAX ASCOLI.

The First Negro Writers

Early Negro American Writers, edited by Benjamin Brawley. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 305 pages. $2.50.

EXCEPT for Vernon Loggins' "The Negro Author," a ground-breaking history, and Carter Woodson's collections of letters and orations, there have been few books surveying and representing the literate Negro before the Civil War. Professor Brawley's "Early Negro American Writers" adequately supplies the need for an anthology. The selections are well edited, with informative critical and biographical introductions. Sidelights are cast upon important historic movements: the anti-slavery crusade, the underground railroad, colonization and enforced religious and masonic segregation.

The poetry, called "consciously produced," suffers from self-consciousness and imitativeness. Jupiter Hammon's doggerel is a cruder replica of evangelical hymns; Horton, who composed love poems for Chapel Hill collegians at 50 cents an effusion, echoes abundantly. Phillis Wheatley is elaborately pseudo-classic and abstract. Vashon's Haitian narrative is frankly Byron and Scott; the frequent apostrophes to liberty are romantic rhetoric; Frances Harper was sister to Felicia Hemans. James M. Whitfield seems the greatest find: militantly aware of the shabby contrasts between American professions and practices, his poetry, though repetitious, belongs with the best abolitionary verse. That poets laboring under such disadvantages should be so skillful and so familiar with English literature is worthy of note. Nevertheless, the genuine poetry of the American Negro of this period must still be sought in his sly and sardonic folk-rhymes and his spirituals.

The prose comes off better, being much closer to the Negro's deeper concerns. This is true even of the sentimentalized eighteenth-century romance of Gustavus Vassa. Bishop Allen bluntly defends the Negroes who cared for the plague-stricken in Philadelphia, ironically noticing the American folk-belief in Negro immunity. Fiery David Walker and pious Josiah Henson, though strange mates, both help us understand the paradoxical epoch. More excerpts would be welcomed from William Wells Brown, first Negro novelist, and Martin Delany, whose presence at a London statistical conference shocked Judge Longstreet, who was hardened to frontier Georgia scenes. Frederick Douglass, the greatest figure of the book, is adequately represented in autobiography, oratory and social counsel.

Delany's urging of industrial education is only one instance where early Negro writers anticipated modern programs. The militancy they exhibited rebukes much that passes for militancy among Negroes today. They contra-

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dicted repeatedly, in utterance and performance, traditional myths about Negro life and character. They seem substantially agreed, however, that emancipation and the suffrage would solve all ills, and the buoyancy of this faith makes melancholy reading. The final sentence of the volume, in contemporary pertinence, is crowning irony. The Reverend Alexander Crummell glowingly forecasts Africa's future: "when the deadly evils which have ruined her, shall be effectively stayed, and 'Ethiopia . . . shall stretch out her hands unto God.'" STERLING A. BROWN.

The Hope Springs Eternal

Father Struck it Rich, by Evalyn Walsh McLean, in collaboration with Boyden Sparkes. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 330 pages. $3.

MRS. McLEAN threw away her millions but she knows where they went. Her autobiography is an itemized account of a forty-year spending jag. She remembers the price of everything: $40,000 for a dinner party for forty-eight, $800,000 for one of her several Washington mansions, $5 each for her dog's haircuts, $5,000 for a puppy for her daughter, $150,000 for the famous and infamous Hope diamond, $135,000 for a bracelet to bolster her spirits when the depression came and her heart was heavy from seeing people in actual want. The list is as long as the book—and infinitely more revealing.

This daughter of old Tom Walsh, the mining king, came from the shacks of a Colorado mining town to dazzle Washington, Newport and Palm Beach with her fabulous wealth in a day when ostentation was ostentation and no doubt about it. She married Edward B. McLean, heir to another great fortune, and whatever he lacked as a husband (it was a plenty, she says over and over again), he was indubitably a big help in squandering money. There was nothing they couldn't buy and the reader of this book will think of little they didn't. Mrs. McLean insists they couldn't buy happiness, but her lyrical recounting of the joys of spending belies her moral. She is even proud of that most fantastic of ways to dispose of $100,000: the mad chase with Gaston B. Means on the trail of the kidnaped Lindbergh baby.

All the great of Washington figure in these pages. They are treated without malice; instead they are admired with a wholehearted naïveté that is often more destructive to their reputations. Senator Borah gets off easier than the others. He said, when he beheld one of Evalyn McLean's $40,000 parties, "This is what causes revolutions." Others who came to her shindigs were both impressed and grateful. They include the McLeans' pals, Harding, Jess Smith, Harry Daugherty and others of the Albert Fallen. Mrs. McLean knew these well; her husband knew them much too well for his own reputation after Teapot Dome; but she tells nothing unusual or revealing about them. This lack of perception, or, let us say, this exercise of charity, likewise forbids any full account of the McLeans' newspaper, The Washington Post, and how it was scuttled, or of the circumstances that sent Ned McLean to an asylum.

Contemplating these tragedies and others that have befallen her, Evalyn McLean concludes that money is a bad thing in undisciplined hands—"We were all too damned rich," she says. This confession might disarm the unfriendly reader. But it is hard to forget that, even as she wrings her hands, the jewels are still flashing on them. The Hope diamond still glitters on the breast that is heaving with sorrow. EDWIN TRIBBLE.

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(2) Industrial expansion is needed to absorb unemployed labor, which will increase mass buying-power and cut down relief taxation.

Blocked by Prevailing Set-up

But industrial expansion is blockaded by the prevailing economic set-up, which forces productive capital to operate between the upper millstone of heavy taxation and the lower millstone of recurrently inflating ground rent. The mere, initial cost of ground alone defeats not only government projects of slum clearance but also private initiative in the erection of badly needed new housing throughout the country—thus keeping a great deal of labor out of work, depressing mass-power to buy goods, and narrowing the fiscal base. The housing illustration is but one of hundreds to the same effect.

Like It or Not

The only way out is to shift the main burden of taxation from PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL to ground values, urban and rural, improved and vacant.

Productive Capital the Goat

Productive capital, then, is overloaded with taxation and compelled to pay billions for the rental or purchase of ground; while at the same time further tax burdens are proposed by Townsendites, Bonusites, and Share-the-wealthites. Moreover, to cap the climax, the Marxites mistakenly identify productive capital as the central villain of the economic tragedy, and advocate its total confiscation. More and more people are studying the logic of the American economic situation in—

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Death Story

Sparkenbroke, by Charles Morgan. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

PIERS TENNIEL, seventh Viscount and twelfth Baron Sparkenbroke, poet and novelist, and hero of this lengthy novel, carved a characteristic set of verses above the historic tomb of his ancestors:

> Who mourns? A fool with mortal look
> That dares to weep for Sparkenbroke?
> Weep thine own exile: not my life.
> With Earth for mother, Sleep for wife,
> Here in the tomb is winter spring.
> Who stays? A Fool. Who knocks? A King.

The last line, which puzzled the tourists for whose eye it seems chiefly to have been designed, means that death is a kingdom; a conceit rather less curious than the fact that Lord Sparkenbroke—who loved not the *profanum volgus* and who was, I cannot help thinking, a trifle free with the word "fool"—should have carved his verses where the profane, the vulgar and the foolish were most likely to see them. But there are other aspects of his lordship's character no less curious. He had a confidential valet called Bissett, a kind of Jeeves *à la* Jowett, to whom he could say: "You are Plato to my Socrates, Bissett; you put all your wisdom in my mouth." His energies were absorbed in a search for the reality which lies beyond the senses and in the successful pursuit of women. He was a romantic and an eclectic. He was a platonist, a sensualist and something of an intellectual prig. And when we first meet him he is engaged on a novel about Tristan and a poem about Nicodemus.

This inadequate summary may suffice to warn the reader as to the literary derivations of Lord Sparkenbroke. If not, one quotation, picked out at random from a thousand as suggestive, will provide the clue.

> But, Piers, isn't it possible that the question is not so much of there being a *flaw* in the story as of your writing the wrong kind of story? The wrong kind? he replied. There can only be one kind of story when Tristan and Iseult are the subject of it. What else can the legend of Tristan be but a love story? It is a love story, she said, but it is a death story too, and he remembered that he had known this at the beginning.

Not for nothing, as you can see from the construction and cadence of this passage, has Mr. Morgan been the friend and disciple of George Moore. If Moore had been a sentimentalist, something of a scholar, and completely sincere—if he had been, in other words, an English imitator of Moore—"Sparkenbroke" is the novel he might have written.

The story appears to deal with Sparkenbroke's efforts, through his companionship with an accomplished blonde called Mary, to relive the essential union of Tristan and Iseult, or the anticipation of death. Of the relationship between Sparkenbroke and Mary, it is difficult to speak with authority; though a phrase of Sparkenbroke's, a description of his craft, seems to hit it off—"The supreme secret communication, like the touch of lovers, between one sentence and the next." For his lordship and Mary, one regrets to report, are born, not of the flesh, nor of the spirit, but of the letter. They are almost entirely verbose. They are a pair of endless sentences. Neither contemporary (the novel is laid in 1928) nor universal, neither timely

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nor timeless, they live delicately in limbo. I hate to insert the coarser note, but after one has made this discovery one's only interest in the story revolves around the two rather minor questions—will Sparkenbroke become Mary's lover? or will he not? He does not.

Such infrequent portions of this novel as are not second-hand Ebury Street, but first-hand Morgan, are sensitive and hopeful. Mr. Morgan *can* write when he is willing to be Mr. Morgan: as witness his dramatic criticisms *passim,* many passages from "Portrait in a Mirror," and the brilliant opening section of his last year's monograph on George Moore. GEORGE DANGERFIELD.

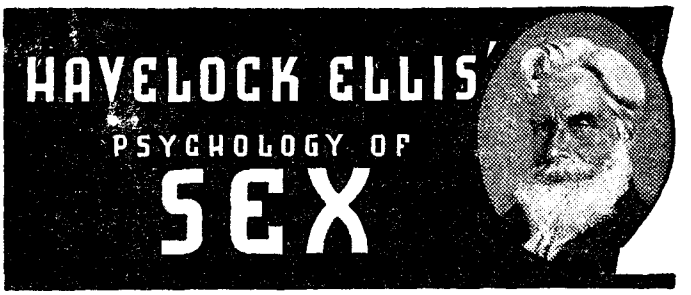
Books in Brief

Recovery Unlimited, by Chester T. Crowell. New York: Covici, Friede. 64 pages. $1.50.

MR. CROWELL says categorically that the government can "do something" to cause recovery, that the Roosevelt government *has* done a great deal to this end, and that the recovery measures of the New Deal program have had an inner logic and a total consistency. In support of his thesis Mr. Crowell presents an analysis of the various New Deal measures—each subject being treated according to the author's own purposes. The real issue—which Mr. Crowell does not face squarely—is whether the New Deal program, taken as a whole, has been consistent with the purposive stimulation of recovery. Any consideration of this question requires a study of the effects of policy on the national income, on various classes of commodity prices and on costs of production. If Mr. Crowell had seriously faced these technical matters, he would have been compelled to recognize, among other things, that in so far as the N.R.A. codes caused prices to rise more rapidly than wages and other forms of income rose, and in so far as the crop-restriction program of the A.A.A. led directly to a larger production of agricultural staples in foreign countries, there was not created any stable basis for recovery. Had he argued that the "reform" (as distinguished from the "recovery") features of the New Deal were more desirable to have than not to have, or that Congress and the nation would not have permitted Mr. Roosevelt to do anything very different from what he did, Mr. Crowell would have been on firmer ground. Even the best friends of the New Deal do not, in general, believe that its various recovery measures make a consistent whole. H. T.

War and the Private Investor, by Eugene Staley. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 587 pages. $4.50.

In some respects this is an excellent addition to the growing literature on the economic causes of war. It includes a number of case histories, together with various fugitive facts, touching upon the general problem of foreign investments in their bearing upon international relationships. It is a scholarly book, although the framework of scholarship is so apparent as to make it somewhat tedious reading. The conclusions and recommendations of the author, in contrast with the objective facts presented, are rather far-fetched and unreal. They ignore the fundamentals of the main problem. They suppose that the contradictions and conflicts that arise from the international flow of capital can be successfully dealt with through more "constructive" statesmanship and by erecting new international machinery as, for example, a World Investment Commission and a World Commercial Court. M. A. H.



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Vigils: New Poems, by Siegfried Sassoon. New York: The Viking Press. 46 pages. $1.50.

Sassoon, according to his biography on the wrapper, now lives quietly in the south of England. The retirement is evident in the poems, which are contemplative, resigned and quite lifeless. The man who won his reputation as a protester now protests no more. In a poem called "War Experience," he writes: "Not much remains, twelve winters later, of the hater of purgatorial pains. And somewhat softly booms a Somme bombardment." Everything else seems to have softened for the writer along with the Somme bombardment, and there are scarcely three lines of vivid seeing or strong feeling in this book by a man who wrote some of the best poems that have survived from the War.

I. S.

Hell Beyond the Seas, by Aage Krarup-Nielsen. New York: The Vanguard Press. 297 pages. $2.75.

Adventurous youth and the glib lies of recruiters betrayed him into the obscene horrors of the Foreign Legion. Attempts to escape landed him in a worse hell, the French Penal Colony in Guiana. He continued to escape, once to work on a Dutch plantation, once for a year in the gold mines of the interior, always to be brought back. Mechanical skill and bitter determination preserved him through ten years of agony, to return to Denmark, with unhealed sores from red-hot irons welded on his legs years before, a long reminder of a living nightmare. Convict 44,792, who wishes to remain nameless, brought his story to Krarup-Nielsen, who retells it with a quietness that makes its picture of thorough corruption only the more vivid. A convincing record of the inhumanity of governments and men, it is also an unforgettable story.

C. G. S.

Contributors

DAYTON D. MCKEAN is assistant to the dean of Princeton University and is a member of the New Jersey Legislature.

H. O. KUSELL has been a writer of motion pictures for the past eight years and is now writing for radio.

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NORMAN THOMAS is a member of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party in America and several times has been his party's candidate for President. His most recent book is "War—No Glory, No Profit, No Need."

T. S. MATTHEWS' second novel, "The Moon's No Fool," was recently published in Mallorca by the Seizin Press. He lives in Princeton, New Jersey.

MAX ASCOLI, formerly professor of Jurisprudence in various Italian universities, is now a member of the graduate faculty of the New School for Social Research in New York City. He has finished a book, "Intelligence in Politics," which will appear next fall.

STERLING A. BROWN is the author of "Southern Road," a book of poems, and contributes articles and reviews to various magazines. He is a member of the faculty of Howard University.

EDWIN TRIBBLE is a Washington, D. C., newspaper man.

GEORGE DANGERFIELD, author of "The Strange Death of Liberal England," was formerly literary editor of Vanity Fair.

The article, "A Midwestern Messiah," is the foreword to a book on the Townsend Plan entitled "An Army of the Aged," by Richard L. Neuberger and Kelley Loe, being published by the Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, ($2).

The initials signed to the brief reviews are those of Horace Taylor, Mauritz A. Hallgren, Isidor Schneider and Clara Gruening Stillman.

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